America, Why War? *Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

June 25, 1940

4905

HOW FRANCE WAS BETRAYED

France was undermined from within by the policies of her statesmen—the minions of capitalist civilization, the counterparts of the men who own and rule America. The diplomacy which appeased Hitler, garroted republican Spain, stabbed the Czechoslovak people in the back, nullified the Franco-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance—this foredoomed France.

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Between Ourselves

IF YOU live in New York and failed to attend NM's Browder-Ford meeting at Manhattan Center last week, you missed an evening that will linger long in memory. Hot and muggy as the night was, several thousand NM-ites and their friends were there to enjoy what turned out to be an intimate chat with the presidential and vice presidential candidates of the Communist Party. Both men talked with that warmth and feeling which springs from a love and understanding of people.

You missed, too, Ruth McKenney's first collection speech. At the very moment she spoke Paris was falling and Ruth's talk was heavy with sadness. A girl sitting close to us sobbed. You can get a good idea of what Ruth said by turning to her story on page 7.

And you missed the fifty minutes when Browder answered questions, friendly and hostile, with frankness, honesty, and—in the instance of that intrepid soul who ventured: "Do you, Browder, receive orders from Moscow?"—with good humor. And before that James W. Ford beautifully voiced the sentiment for peace among his own Negro people. He also spoke of Mexico and its struggle against the colossus of the North.

So it was with a good feeling inside that the audience filed out of the big hall that night. Your editors also felt better not only because the meeting was a success but because the collection of over $500 helped pay pressing bills. But in case you weren't here, and even if you were there, you'll be tickled to know that next week NM will publish excerpts from the stenogram of the question and answer period.

The day after the meeting we strolled around mid-Manhattan. The newsstands were filled with papers whose front page type ran a foot high. The war was on the newsstands but the people were talking about Joe Medwick. It seems that Joe is a left-fielder who swings at bad balls on the outside of the plate. He makes plenty of bingles, though, and now he's making them for Brooklyn. Everybody, we don't know why, loves Brooklyn. Tens of thousands were in Ebbets Field that day to welcome the refugees from the chain gang run by the St. Louis Cardinals. And there were the folk crowding around the newsstand reading the headlines but more concerned, as we gathered from the conversation, with the latest scores from Flatbush. The seventh inning stretch is the symbol of America at peace. That's a preference NM is fighting to keep intact.

If this summer finds you marching into the hinterland take one pen, one pencil, or one typewriter and send us reports of what people in the countryside are saying. For years NM has had reader-correspondents throughout the United States—and abroad in more peaceful times. In the next few weeks it will be more important than ever to know what people are thinking. Your editors will deeply appreciate these letters. It will keep them in touch with things they can never get out of the newspapers.

And don't forget to have NM follow you this summer. The back cover has a special subscription offer to ensure your getting the magazine for the next ten weeks.

For those who would like to catch up with a little studying the Workers School, 35 East 12th St., N. Y., announces its third summer day school opening July 8. NM contributors Elizabeth Lawson and Francis Franklin will be part of the teaching staff. The fee is $25. Courses will range from political economy to surveys of American history.

We have been getting a good many notes these past two weeks from the class of '40. They are uniformly cheerful despite the commencement addresses. To be sure a few writers mix their cheer with the sad prospect that they may be digging in on some foreign battlefield or covering the employment agencies for jobs that are just not there. Take the letter from a boy in Texas: "When Mr. Roosevelt was speaking to the graduates of the University of Virginia last week I suppose he had me in mind also. I have just gotten through four tough years of schoolwork and the President asks me to think about defending my country. Well, I am thinking about it and so is my whole generation. This country for which my great-grandfather fought is a country for which I would fight again but not on the basis Mr. Roosevelt puts it. A country is its leaders, and the men in Washington with but very few exceptions are doing things about which I am ashamed. My Negro neighbors cannot vote because they cannot pay a poll tax. And no one in the administration has lifted a finger to change that. Several weeks ago a union organizer was severely beaten before my very eyes by police. Not one local official did a damn thing about it. A country is its people, and I see a large section of our people without wo[rk] [or] without a future. My generation [of] young people are not pacifists. [We] fight but only for the thing [that] are worth while. And the wor[k] things are here at home, right [a]t the Deep South. We have a life to make for ourselves and we cannot make it in dugouts and trenches.

"I suppose such ideas make me a fifth-columnist. But two years ago when I had the same ideas I was considered a good New Dealer. I'm a good New Dealer today even if FDR isn't."

We hope to publish several representative letters from June graduates. They will be ample answers to college heads who are now providing the spiritual and intellectual face to the Wall Street gentlemen without LL.D.s.

Who's Who

DR. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH is a fellow of the New York Academy of Sciences, chairman of the New York branch of the American Association of Scientific Workers and of the New York branch of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, and an executive officer of the department of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University, where he has been for thirty-four years. He is the author of *Who Gets the Money?* and oth books. . . . Alexander F. Bergm was born in New York twenty-eig years ago. After the depressi checked his budding newspaper c reer, he "farmed, sailed a bit, work for Consolidated Edison, got sick and has been confined to bed for th last four years. He has contribute several poems to NM. . . . E. Browder is general secretary of t Communist Party, USA. . . . La rence Krause has made a speci study of Latin American history. . . Harvey T. Scudder is a Detroi journalist. . . . Isidor Schneider i former literary editor of NM an author of *From the Kingdom of Ne cessity*. . . . Naomi Ward has aske us to say that she has a new job- the best pay and working conditio she's ever had—working for a stenc rapher. . . . Lem Harris has been a organizer in the farm movement fo several years. . . . Millicent Lan is a graduate student specializing i contemporary literature. . . . Mario Greenspan is a journalist who h written about Spain and the F East for NM.

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NEW MASSES

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Suppose Next Friday . . .

SUPPOSE next Friday morning the following happens: you go to the newsstand and ask the dealer for your copy of NEW MASSES. He tells you "Sorry, no copy this week. The paper's finished, no more NEW MASSES." How would you feel? What would you think? What would your reaction be?

Your first thought would be that Washington stopped the paper. It had been threatened because of its anti-war stand and now they had gone and done it. Finished it off. You would think what a loss you had suffered: a political loss, a personal loss. NEW MASSES had come to be a part of your life. You needed it to speak up for you, for your interests, against the war, for democracy. You would be more than angry. You would want to fight for bring it back into life. Isn't that so?

Then suppose that evening you picked up the paper saw a news story: "NEW MASSES went out of exis- ce today because of financial difficulties." You would eve as before but you would feel a greater responsi- ity. You would feel that you might have helped save You helped before, you always came to its rescue, it was that kind of paper. It had no millionaire sup- orters because it reflected your interests, your thoughts, our hopes. That's why you had helped. Now it was ad. And you might have helped just a little more and at would have saved your magazine.

"I might have saved it," you would think, and you ould feel that terrible emotion one always feels when ne thinks, "It might have been . . . I could have pre- ented it. . . ."

Today NEW MASSES comes to you to ask you not to let that happen. You can save the magazine. We told you last week how the printer refused us his usual summer's credit because of "unsettled conditions." He is afraid the magazine might be closed down because of the war hysteria. As a result we have suffered a most serious blow, an unexpected setback, one that will put this paper out of existence—unless . . .

Unless you come to its immediate rescue. Last week we asked for contributions. Enough came in to see us through the next two weeks. After that, we cannot tell.

We are now not only asking you for contributions. *We are asking you for loans.*

Every reader who has any sum he can lend us until after the summer crisis period can help save the magazine. Five hundred dollars, a hundred, fifty, even twenty-five. Any loan you can negotiate for us may mean the difference between pulling through the summer until the autumn rise in income.

Will you do that? Will you save the magazine? Will you keep yourself from saying, "I might have saved it if I had done just a little more"? This is your paper and that is why we can talk this way to you. No other paper in America could.

For there is no other magazine that belongs to its readers.

Will you let us know by return mail? Your magazine's life is in the balance until we hear from you.

THE EDITORS.

(Please turn to page 29)

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How France Was Betrayed

The nation was undermined from within by the policies of her treacherous statesmen. Resistance depended upon more than arms: upon a progressive policy. An editorial article.

THE capitulation of France brings the first stage of the war to an end. It is a bitter end—for the brave workingmen of France, for the refugees streaming down the roads, for the men who gave their lives, and for the men who still have life, but not much more. Not that the alternative was to follow the leadership of the traitorous rulers who have now forfeited their rule. Resistance in France depended on more than arms. It depended upon *policy,* upon popular understanding and conviction, upon revolutionary *elan.* The decisive factor in this war was not so much that the Germans broke through Sedan in the middle of May; it was not so much that the German generals are ruthless, their infantry mechanized, their airplanes terrible. What is important is not how the battle was won. *It is why the battle was lost.*

France was undermined from within by the policies of her statesmen—the pillars of society, the paragons of culture, the minions of capitalist civilization, the counterparts of the men who own and rule America. The diplomacy which consciously appeased Hitler, which garroted republican Spain, which stabbed the Czechoslovak people in the back, which nullified the Franco-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance—this is what foredoomed France to defeat. It was the policy of the Socialist Party which corrupted the *Front Populaire,* which supported every transition to Munich, then supported Munich too, and then the war which flowed from the Munich agreement—that is why France capitulates now. If instead of fighting the Communists, instead of wrecking the trade unions, instead of excelling the French reactionaries in their hatred of socialism, the Socialist leaders—counterparts of many American labor leaders—had helped to unify and organize the working class for revolutionary action against the war and the capitalist class responsible for this war, a different peace would have been achieved. Hitler, and everything he represents, would have cried, Enough!—and not the other way round.

HANDING OVER EUROPE

In September 1938 the French and British statesmen with the honorable exception of the Communists, handed Germany the hegemony of Europe, of capitalist Europe. *They gave it away, and thereby not only brought on this war, but also lost it.* In the spring and summer of 1939 the Germans drew the logical conclusion from Munich. They demanded that their leading role, their dominant position, be recognized. When this was refused, it required only a brief and incidental military demonstration to convince the statesmen of France *whose* position—Hitler's or theirs—was really the dominant one. And now the architects of this defeat must themselves draw the logical conclusions. Weygand, the Cagoulard, Ybarnegaray, the corporal of the Croix de Feu, Baudouin, the pro-Italian industrialist, Georges Bonnet (remember that unspeakable name!) and Pierre Etienne-Flandin, who telegraphed personal congratulations to Hitler after Munich—these are the men upon whom Hitler depends to remake France in the fascist image. Herr Himmler expects every French reactionary to do Gestapo duty.

The essence of the capitulation is this: French imperialism now recognizes its subordinate position to German imperialism. Reynaud and Blum were not convinced of this—it took a million lives to prove it. Clemenceau is turning over in his grave, for France has lost not only this war, but the last one.

Which means that British policy has suffered an equivalent defeat. In the collapse of the French armies Britain has lost her sole remaining foothold on the Continent. In the German hegemony of Europe the historic British aim of preventing any one power from dominating the Continent has suffered a mortal blow. The British ruling class must now debate the same issues which tore the French ruling class apart. Some sections are willing to mortgage their empire for American assistance. They face at least a German siege in which the larger part of the French Navy, in combination with Italian and German naval forces, will bring the contest to British shores. That is simply a way of drawing the capitulation out. For if Britain cannot fight without some base on the Continent, the same thing would hold for an Anglo-American alliance. The alternative probability for the British ruling class means coming to terms with Germany, acknowledging its central position—rendering unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's.

All of us who cried aloud against this war and everything that preceded it, all of us who picketed, and paraded, and protested, signed petitions, wrote articles—we were right. And yet, not every actor on this universal stage has had his say. The Germans have won the initial victory. What they do with it remains to be seen. They now face the necessity of consolidation, of preparation for future eventualities precisely at the moment when the politics of Europe has been thrown into complete solution, complete fluidity. Many of our readers may have seen the letter from the French soldier published in *Komsomolskaya Pravda,* the Soviet youth paper, and reprinted in full only in the *Daily Worker.* That letter expressed the bitterness of the French soldier at the evident betrayal by his leaders. The position of the French Communists was developed in several new respects: it called for resistance against the invader, and pledged unceasing strugggle against a capitulatory peace. Careful NEW MASSES readers will recall a piece by one of our editors, "Perspectives on the Second Flanders" (issue of June 4), which anticipated the capitulation and emphasized the great responsibility which now confronts the French Communists, the only force whose policies were correct, and in whom the hope of the future lies. It must be clear to everyone by now that only a great popular movement based upon the French working class, in uncompromising struggle against the policies and public figures of its own capitalist class, can stem the fascist tide, from both the external and internal directions.

On the other hand, 1940 is not 1848. Street uprisings cannot of themselves direct the locomotive of history to the progressive path. Nineteen forty is also not 1917—half of France has been overrun by German troops. In the other half the gendarmerie of French fascism bids for control. The obstacles facing the French working class are great, but they are not insuperable.

BRITISH LABOR

Britain may tell another story. Despite the craven tradition of the Labor Party, the British working class, the overwhelming majority of the people, has had the experience of its power. After the World War and again in 1926 the British workers showed the great strength that lies in the shops and mills. Face with the alternative of carrying on a dis trous war, or faced on the other hand w the inevitable trend of the British u classes to acknowledge the superior posi of Germany, there is only one path—the r lutionary path—which can avenge the tre ery, the misery, the accumulated disasters the past decade.

History may still take this ironic course the most revolutionary working class of E rope, namely the German, became the victi of a most barbaric reaction, namely fasc And German fascism became the batte ram that is shaking the foundation of wo imperialism, Britain. Perhaps, therefore, t British working class, long held in leas will show the revolutionary initiative th alone holds the future for the peoples Europe. And the peoples of the colonial wor —they will be heard from too. They will n readily exchange new masters for old, n will they idle while the old masters barga over their bodies with the new.

The larger part of Europe, let it be remembered at this moment above all, lies in t USSR. It is a socialist country, a new, viril vital way of life for 180,000,000 people. I army and its economy grow stronger ever day; its statesmen come from the people an

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defend the interests of the people. Under their wise guidance we have every right to expect that Soviet leaders will pursue their historic policy of protecting their own frontiers and maintaining the initiative of the international working class. The Soviet decision to send a new ambassador to Rumania, after all the unpleasant experiences of the past, expresses Soviet insistence that no power encroach upon the peace of the Danubian peoples. The Soviet action in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is likewise fully consistent with Soviet initiative, with the policy of protecting its own frontiers and keeping the war away from the peoples of the Baltic zone. It seems that the statesmen of these Baltic nations could not assimilate the lessons of the past nine months. They hankered after their former diplomacy, and even conspired with Finland to harass their powerful socialist neighbor. What the USSR did was only to be expected. First, there were warnings over many weeks. Then investigation, then consultation with the responsible statesmen in the most correct manner—and only then did the USSR take action, after its forthright fashion. To have done less would have jeopardized the frontier of the land of socialism, the frontier of progress in our time, a frontier which all of us who want to see a different Europe emerge from the ashes have every right to expect will be protected.

This moment in Europe is one of transition, the full outlines of which only history can supply. The Nazis can be expected to intensify their pressure upon the remaining nations of capitalist Europe. They can be expected to employ, and also satisfy, Franco. As Hitler implied in his statement last week, the Germans will give Mussolini his Mediterranean province as an outpost and outlet for the German empire on the Continent. Economic rivalry between German and American imperialism will unquestionably increase, with business in this country attempting to fascist methods to defeat its competitor. The Japanese will undoubtedly take advantage of their diplomatic strength (although it does not correspond with their actual economic and military strength). They will continue their own pressure for a redivision of the colonial world, for Indo-China and the South Pacific. The dual policy of blackmail and conciliation of the USA will find favor, as it already has, in high circles of "our own" capitalist class.

Serious people will recognize and fully appreciate the seriousness of the new moment in Europe. Unless revolutionary developments in any country or in the colonies smash the worldwide and desperate trend of the ruling class toward fascism, whatever lull sets in can only be prelude to further misery. Germany cannot and will not stabilize a fascist Europe —not for long, if at all. More clearly than ever before, the choice before the peoples of the capitalist world is the alternative of which we are fully confident—the fight for the people's ownership of their means of livelihood, the people's decision of their own destinies, the way of socialism.

What It Means for Us

WHAT does the surrender of the French government mean for America? However disastrous the consequences of a Nazi victory may be for the people of France and of western Europe, the French capitulation means a definite setback to the war plans of the Roosevelt administration. President Roosevelt gambled on the continued resistance of those who led the French people into the disaster of war. His speech at Charlottesville on June 10 was designed, among other things, to stiffen this resistance. The President gambled—his stakes were the lives of millions of Frenchmen—and he lost that particular throw. Roosevelt shares with the ruling circles of France and Britain responsibility for the debacle. We did not need the secret Polish documents published by the Nazis to make it evident that Roosevelt and his diplomatic representatives encouraged the British and French governments to reject an agreement with the Soviet Union that could have saved peace and to undertake war against Germany. After the war broke out the President encouraged Britain and France to believe that economic and ultimately military aid from the United States would enable them to win. As the *Wall Street Journal* of June 14 was compelled to admit:

"We are raising false hope and playing a cruel hoax on two friendly, hard-pressed peoples."

The French capitulation will undoubtedly have a sobering effect on important sections of Wall Street which have been supporting the Roosevelt policy of playing with fire. That sobering effect began to manifest itself a few days before the surrender. The President's Charlottesville speech drew critical salvos from a number of leading big business organs, including the *Wall Street Journal.* The New York *World-Telegram,* besides commenting unfavorably on the President's address, condemned the inflammatory propaganda of the so-called Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, headed by William Allen White. Alfred M. Landon, who had been backing the administration's foreign policy, also made the great discovery that the Roosevelt speech showed a dangerous drift toward war. The feeling of this section of capitalist reaction was voiced with laconic candor the other day by Gen. Hugh S. Johnson: "For God's sake, let's keep out—at least long enough to get ready to get in."

But not only have important big business groups, for their own selfish reasons, begun to be alarmed at any further investment in the disaster overwhelming France. The plain people of the country have been speaking up. In recent weeks there has been a sharp increase in the mail of congressmen; even reactionary newspapers admit that the letters from "the folks back home" are overwhelmingly opposed to American participation in the European adventure. This popular sentiment was reflected in the threat of Sen. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana to bolt the Democratic Party if it leads the country into war.

The French are out, but the British are still in the war. And Churchill pledged in his speech on June 4 that Britain would "carry on the struggle until in God's good time the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation and rescue of the Old." This fine offer to drag us into the mess which the British bankers and industrialists are unable to drag themselves out of is undoubtedly tempting to those American economic royalists who foresee a future in which they will hold a first mortgage on the entire British empire. The Roosevelt administration may therefore, despite the French experience, continue the gamble, unless the people act to spoil this dangerous game.

On one point all the strategists of Wall Street, the Roosevelt administration, and the Republican Party are agreed: the rapid militarization of every phase of American life and the conversion of the entire western hemisphere, from Greenland to Cape Horn, into the private appanage of American imperialism. Col. Charles Lindbergh, spokesman for those capitalist groups that consider the United States at present too ill prepared to challenge German imperialism in Europe, in his latest radio speech expressed this doctrine of Pan-American imperialism in language with the true Hitler flavor: "We must insist upon military bases being placed wherever they are needed for our own safety, regardless of who owns the territory involved." The Roosevelt administration is not quite so frank, but the recent dispatch of two warships to South America and the President's request for authority to mobilize the National Guard are two among many steps in the same direction. The proposal that the United States purchase or help itself to all British, French, and Dutch possessions in this hemisphere is of the same character. American imperialism is serving notice on all its rivals—and this means, above all, Britain—that it intends to establish a monopoly in the exploitation of the rich resources of North and South America.

(Continued on page 22)

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Paris Can Never Die

"Have faith in the people of France," Ruth McKenney writes. The city of the Revolution of 1789, of the Communards, of Jaures and Thorez will live forever.

I READ in the papers this morning that the Germans have entered Paris.

I went nervously to the radio after breakfast and listened for a while to the news broadcasts. Paris, the announcers said, lies still and quiet under a heavy blanket of smoke. Fire licks at the suburbs. The ominous thud of the heavy guns makes the earth tremble. Above the thick clouds of smoke, airplanes snarl in the sky.

The rich quarters are abandoned. The great government buildings are emptied. The fine restaurants are closed. Montmartre is a dead city. But the poor, who have nowhere to go and no money to go with, walk quietly through the smoke, past the bright lick of the flames, stand in doorways where the earth erupted, spilling the blood of horses and old men and children across the fragments of the bombs.

Paris! Who can say this word now without pain? For we remember this city, even those who have never looked upon it. Generations of men have held this city in their hearts. Not only Frenchmen. But little schoolteachers in Oklahoma City, a lonely young poet in Serbia, painters from the arid mountains of Mexico, a doctor in an Alabama country town.

Paris! We remember it now. Not the cheap legend Hollywood made of this city. Not the vulgarities middle-aged men with American Legion caps and leers and paunches committed on its streets. Not even the exquisite clothes, the lovely women in furs and perfumes, not even the magnificent restaurants.

In this moment Paris sheds the flimsy stuff that covered its beautiful but austere hard core. We remember Notre Dame under the soft night lights, glowing, luminous, its breathtaking spires rising against the gray sky. We remember paintings in the Louvre, with the young students standing frozen with awe before them. We live again on the banks of the Seine on a rainy late afternoon in November. The lights mark out the bridges and the squares, the buildings rise through the soft mist with an almost Greek perfection of proportion. And through these classic streets move the people of Paris, proud, strong, alive. The city pulses with their voices, vibrates under their marching feet. The city breathes with their lungs, is nourished by their bread, ripens with their love. Ceaselessly, the people of Paris move across its face, crowding its art galleries so that painters grow great because there are men to look at their pictures; standing before its bookstalls so that there are mighty writers because the people of Paris hold culture dear; buying flowers in the great open markets, so that the city is always bright with blooms, because there is hardly a family of Paris so poor its house does not hold room for some growing thing. The people of Paris move through the rainy night, hungry, but wearing their oppression like a badge and on their faces the words: it will not always be like this.

This Paris, this city, this is our city. For now when the invaders' guns roar in the suburbs, now when the rich women and the diplomats and the night club touts and the famous lawyers and the princes and the haughty with their great names, now when all of these have abandoned Paris, the city belongs to the people of Paris—and to the people of good will everywhere, it belongs to us alone.

For all the rich and the mighty, they did not love Paris enough truly to defend it. They try to lie. They spread the papers full of their clammy hypocrisy. In America bankrupt intellectuals like Robert Sherwood and Lewis Mumford use all sorts of fancy words to confuse this issue, this life-and-death issue of Paris. The radio announcers make the air hideous, drooling their sentimental obituaries for Paris. Dorothy Thompson and Walter Lippmann, the gentlemen of the *New Republic* and the gentlemen of United States Steel, they all rise to this somber occasion with a collection of lies to end all lies.

But language is not elastic enough to cover up the truth about Paris. The truth is very simple. For a thousand years men have lived in Paris, and lived for Paris. The city is the sum of a million men, and many more. Painters and stonemasons, workers and writers and cafe keepers, taxi drivers, bargemen, they have molded Paris after their dreams. And now the rich and the currently powerful offer up this Paris as a bleeding and helpless sacrifice on the altar of imperialist war.

Yes, it is that simple, in spite of the obscene lies they are printing in our newspapers and shouting over our radio. The corrupt Bonnet, the artful Daladier, a hundred pawns of the French bankers holding office in government, they prepared this war. They plotted with Chamberlain and his gang, they lit the match to the dynamite. The guns that Hitler uses today on the beautiful city of Paris were paid for day before yesterday on bank drafts dated, "Paris." Reynaud and Weygand, they pretend they are the defenders of Paris. They lie, and they know they lie. They are the traitors who have opened the gates to the invaders. This general now, who writes such fine exhortations to his soldiers, "Defend your fatherland," or, "This is the last quarter hour." He is a French fascist. This Reynaud. He was one of the mobsters who framed up the business of Hitler for the German people.

It is true, these gangsters got the double-cross from their fingerman. But they cannot speak now of "defending Paris." They abandoned it long ago. They used Paris for table stakes, like a dissolute gambler putting up the mortgage on his children's home for a throw of the dice. Now they have the effrontery to shed glycerine tears over its fate.

They say, in the newspapers and on the radio, that Paris is dying. But it is not so. The French bankers, they have hung Paris in crepe, they are ready to sing its requiem. But the French people, who love Paris as they love their own lives, they will have the last word. They will see it through its ordeal of today, they will keep Paris fresh in their hearts, and some day—some day soon—they will start off again, to rebuild it, to create it anew. Paris will never die, so long as the French people live. The German invaders may capture it, but the people of Paris, they will make their city everlasting.

So this is not the hour for cheap sentimentality. Do not weep for Paris, or let your heart grow soft in you. This is the time for anger. For anger and action. Consider the city of Paris, and all the blood and agony and patience it took to build it. And then remember: the French bankers and their allies in London and New York used Paris like a pawn, as though it were nothing, as though it were a cheap thing to risk without a shrug. Remember what these traitors have done to Paris, write it down carefully somewhere in your mind, so that you will never forget.

And then watch them now, these rich men who have made this war, this imperialist war. Watch them and their noisome little lackeys in the magazines and the newspapers and the radio, watch them moaning and groaning and pretending they care whether the people of Paris fall into the hands of the invading marauders or not. Remember: they don't care. They've proved that. Remember that even in this moment of agony they must spread their foul hypocrisy, as thick as flies on garbage. In America our own particular brand of traitors are asking you to back up Reynaud and Weygand—*in the name of Paris.*

But Paris will never be saved by Reynaud or Weygand. They are taking the name of Paris in vain. In America we will see that this city can make sure it will live by really loving our own warmakers trussed up, keeping the weight of America out of this dreary and shameful war.

And if we can do our part, the people of Paris will be able to do theirs. They will defend Paris—by obliterating the men, by wiping out the system of profits that offered Paris up as a victim, bound and gagged, to the Nazis.

Have faith in the people of Paris. Paris will live again! The city of the Revolution of 1789, the city of the Communards, the city of Jaures and of Thorez will live forever. *Vive Paris!*

RUTH MCKENNEY.

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America, Why War?

Prof. Walter Rautenstrauch of Columbia University is an engineer and he asks a few practical questions that 93 percent of the nation ask. The future "cannot be founded in the trenches."

THERE is probably no more important question before the American people today than the one stated above. It is important because the answer to this question will determine in large measure the destiny of our society for many years to come. The question is also important because of the fact that America is faced with internal economic and social problems of the first magnitude. If America should engage in the European conflict, what is going to happen to our internal economy? How are we going to solve the problems of employment and production which now confront us? It is unfortunate that these great questions come before us without our being adequately prepared to debate intelligently the issues involved.

Owing to our past failures to discuss, criticize, or inquire into the workings of our total economy, and the social implications of these workings, we are not informed adequately on its functioning. Because of this lack in education very few people (including those in high positions of responsibility) have been able to deal adequately with the problems of the depression, particularly the employment of the millions of people who have been denied the right and the privilege to take part in this process we call civilization.

IS WAR A SOLUTION?

Will our participation in the European war help solve these problems, or will it aggravate the difficulties we now face? This aspect of the problem is frequently overlooked in current discussions on our interests in the conflict in Europe. I am frequently asked the question: Why should we engage in war with the European nations? And I am at a loss for an answer. Young people have asked me many other questions about international events on which the issues are not clear, and I am not sufficiently informed to answer them. They have asked me about the attitude of the democratic powers toward the conflict in Spain. Were the people endeavoring to throw off the yoke of a political, economic, and ecclesiastical system which was crushing out their lives, as some have pointed out? Was the Spanish government a duly constituted democratic power and was it overthrown with the assistance of the fascist powers for their own selfish ends? Why did the Allies permit these things to happen? I find it difficult to answer these questions. Young people are very much concerned about world events of this kind. They want to know why the poor, unfortunate people of Abyssinia were allowed to be crushed under the invader's heel. They want to know why we sell gasoline and scrap iron to the invaders of China and thus contribute to the brutal massacre of millions of our fellow men. They want to know why the struggling young German republic was not aided in its attempts to establish a democratic way of life for this distressed people. They want to know why, in spite of the rigid terms of the Treaty of Versailles and in violation of that treaty, the German fascists were allowed to build up the most powerful war machine the world has ever seen to the detriment and destruction of the German people and their culture.

IS THIS THE ROAD?

It is very difficult, in the face of these questions, to make clear to our young people any fundamental issues of democracy involved in the present conflict. As they read the history of the World War of 1914-18, they learn that the young people of that generation were asked to sacrifice their lives to "make the world safe for democracy." They learn that the millions of young men who fought for this false promise were maimed or killed, or survived to lead blasted lives in a socially disrupted world. They are told that the Treaty of Versailles was not conceived in the spirit of democracy but laid the foundations for the present European war, more terrible in its destruction than any the world has ever seen. And so the youth of America ask, what assurance have they that the same mistake is not being made again? Will our participation in this conflict help to build a better world? Is this the road to a new way of life, or is it the road to destruction? Unless the issues involved in this conflict can be answered in these terms, the youth of America have indicated in numerous ways that they want no part in it.

Competent students of society, looking beyond the external manifestations of this world conflict have suggested that the great problems of the world center about three areas of social conflict. These are:

1. The accessibility to the raw materials of the earth to all nations.
2. The accessibility, for the working population in all lands, to the tools of production.
3. The equitable distribution of the products of our labors.

We are told that the great problems which face the world today are concerned with questions about how we shall organize ourselves in relation to the raw materials, the productive facilities, and the distribution of income in a manner which will mean most in terms of the social well-being of mankind.

HUMAN PERSONALITY

The world's greatest philosophers have repeatedly called the attention of mankind to the great worth of human personality. Throughout many generations great spiritual leaders have repeatedly emphasized the possibilities inherent in man if he would but set his objectives in terms of the human spirit and devote his energies to building a way of life in which the greatest possibilities in man could evolve. History has recorded the struggle mankind has had against the bondages imposed by selfish men who control their lives in various ways. Is the conflict now raging in Europe an outcome of these controls?

The fundamental question then is, what problems are we trying to solve? Is this the kind of procedure which will help us solve these problems? What is it the young people of America wish for the future? They have come through a period of development in American life which has held great promise for them. Never before in the history of the world has man had available to him such power to control the forces of nature to his own good. Never before has he had the techniques for dealing with technical, economic, and social problems that he has today. The youth of America want this power and these techniques availed of to build a better world.

Many commentators have again and again called attention to the fact that this present struggle is only part of a greater conflict to-

Appeal to the Youth

NEW MASSES has invited a number of outstanding figures in the literary, educational, and scientific fields to present their points of view on America and the war. We are happy to publish this article by Dr. Walter Rautenstrauch, head of the industrial engineering department at Columbia University, in reply to our invitation. Dr. Rautenstrauch asks a number of questions which are not merely his own, but are those being asked today by the young people with whom he comes in contact. They are, of course, the most important questions of our time—questions concerning war or peace for America, the future of democracy, a new social order, and a warless world. Though Dr. Rautenstrauch leaves many of these questions unanswered, it seems to NEW MASSES that on the whole he tends to look for the answers in the right direction. Clearly he is against the warmakers and on the side of the masses who strive for peace and a better life. The appeal which he addresses to the youth to prevent America from being dragged into war and to claim the great heritage of democracy is especially pertinent these days when men like Archibald MacLeish and Lewis Mumford and the editors of the *Nation* and *New Republic* are trying to seduce the youth into yielding up this heritage to the destructive forces of imperialist war.

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ward social change which has been going on for the past generation. In this conflict the great mass of mankind is striving to be released from the domination of those forces which control their lives. We are told that no matter who wins the present war, Europe cannot be the same again. We are warned to be prepared for an entirely different social organization for the peoples of Europe, a type of social organization in which the great mass of mankind will no longer endeavor to solve its problems by the destructive processes of war, but rather in the spirit of cooperative endeavor, based on respect for human personality. If, then, this is the great issue involved, can the American people help solve this problem by engaging in destructive conflict? Is it true that we are witnessing a great struggle for social change, similar to that which released the serf from the bondage of his masters and raised the slave to the status of a free man? Is this the issue that we are facing today? Shall we go forward with the building of a great nation, or shall we plunge ourselves into the abyss of war and block the rising tide of social progress?

There is grave doubt in the minds of many as to the effect which will be had on the American economic, social, and political economy if we engage in war. Already the forces of reaction have taken decisive steps to curtail freedom of thought and the democratic process in these United States. Will our participation in the European war strengthen these forces and lead us into a destructive system of regimentation that will cancel all the social gains made in the past two generations? Unless these questions can be satisfactorily answered, America will make the greatest mistake in its history if it risks the venture of a European conflict. Why should we revert to a pattern of behavior which can only lead to despair and destruction, as the history of the last war has so fully demonstrated? War is not inevitable. The Founding Fathers of this great republic in their wisdom provided that decisions on great issues shall be made by the people themselves. The youth of America should rise and claim this great heritage. This is their country, the future belongs to them. There is no need for hopeless despair—the future of America depends on them, and today they have the great opportunity of helping the people of this great republic determine its future course. We are indeed at the crossroads of divergent paths of human destiny. In one direction we go down to regression—in the other direction we pass forward to a new way of life. The young people of America, if they will, can decide now the type of world in which they wish to live.

My hope is that the youth of America will unite in vigorous protest against the folly of war and demand a national policy which has the greatest meaning in terms of fruitful and useful living. The world of the future must be built for them. It cannot be founded in the trenches. It must rest on the aspirations of the human spirit for a full and abundant life.

DR. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH.

Negroes and the War

"To go, or not to go to war" is no problem for Negro Americans. A poll by the Chicago Council of the National Negro Congress makes this plain. Out of a total of one thousand Negroes questioned, a majority do not believe that the present war is being fought for democracy; they know from experience that the last war was not. Equally important, the poll reveals that a majority of those questioned (eight hundred out of one thousand) consider the present war as one for "control of colonies, markets, raw materials, and profits, and for the continued and further enslavement of African, Indian, and Chinese peoples and peoples of small nations." Again, the majority questioned answered that it was a mistake for Negroes to have participated in the World War. Negroes have not forgotten the lynching and discrimination which followed that war for "democracy." The results of this poll, still being conducted, indicate a trend among Negroes throughout the country and reveal an important force against war.

I

Negation

Blinking in the paleolithic sun they stand,
Clear of mud and clad in vestigial scales,
The self-appointed guardians of morals and of men,
Of little nations, heaven, and God's word;
And from the heavy shelter of their brows
Explore the magic qualities of fire and sword.

No new-born Himalayas wrack the temperate earth,
The ferns are tamed to spore in quiet parlors,
And anthracite to keep them warm is dear
But cheap in shiploads on the ocean floors.

Death in old cities when the moon is bright
Whistles down from streamlined pterodactyls,
And sudden orchids blossom in the night,
That suck their flaming beauty out of lives.

While Cæsars sunder nations from their earth,
Strip men of life, of love, and native hearth,
Whole peoples flee their tenemented tombs
To find one fatherland—a common sepulchre.

II

Affirmation

Yet be not dismayed that in our time
The years crawl backward into slimy change,
And worms upon the trees in Spring
Make all year Autumn for their harvesting.

Have we but come through darkness to new night?
Crawled from stone to stone? from cave to catacomb?
Outfought the sabertooth, and ice, and mastodon
But to perfect the breed of flying reptiles?

What skill and mathematics have combined
Mad men may rend—but not forever live
To splash their idiotic fingers
In spilled mudpies of men's brains.

We have survived more cataclysmic times
And will not now submerge our hopes and dreams
In the embalming fluids of Parliamentary terms,
But in the labyrinth with constant deeds and faith
Affirm our love of life and liberty—;
That when our sons and daughters carve our epitaphs the stones will say:
Deep in the ancient labyrinth these dialectic dead
Helped us, the free, unwind the golden thread.

ALEXANDER F. BERGMAN.

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"We Need Not Be Pessimistic . . ."

Earl Browder speaks on the middle class and its stakes in the war. He foresees a socialist reorganization of Europe. And "an America of the people at last."

On June 12 Earl Browder and James Ford, Communist candidates for President and Vice President, spoke on the subject of "The Middle Class and the War Crisis" under the auspices of NEW MASSES. Below we publish Browder's speech. In subsequent issues we will present his answers to questions asked at the meeting, and Ford's address.—THE EDITORS.

MR. CHAIRMAN and friends: When Joe North two weeks ago asked me to speak at a NEW MASSES meeting about the middle class and the world crisis, I immediately accepted the invitation and set frantically to work preparing a speech. But in the last couple of days in reading the newspapers, I became more and more dissatisfied with my speech and this afternoon I stuck the speech into a drawer of my desk and decided that instead of making a speech I would come down and talk a little bit.

America has the strongest class divisions in the world and it is least conscious of them. But whatever our lack of consciousness of the class nature of our society, the middle class and the working classes alike are going to realize that the world that we have known in the past is disappearing before our eyes. It is destroying itself. The news from Europe is so shocking that even those of us who could foresee the awful consequences of the logical development of the imperialist world system find ourselves somewhat benumbed by the rapid succession of the blows of the old world tumbling about our ears.

In America we are now being invited to join that mad game in Europe. The invitations, which a few weeks ago were still coming only from the less experienced, already come from the chief executive of the nation. President Roosevelt's speech the night before last from Charlottesville practically was a declaration putting the US into the world war. What it lacked in that respect was due to the formality needed by the constitutional provision that war must be declared by Congress.

The middle classes of America together with the working class masses have displayed a stubborn lack of enthusiasm for this war. I have been through two war periods myself. I was quite a youngster at the time of the Spanish-American war but I can remember it quite clearly. I was not quite so young during the last world war. And I can remember that much more clearly. In the previous wars, regardless of the manipulations behind the scenes that threw the country into the war, the ruling classes succeeded in rousing great mass enthusiasm for the war. There is no such enthusiasm in America for this war. And in order to slip this country, step by step, into the war, they have had to resort to the most foul deceptions. Each step leading America into the war was offered to the country as one of the means of staying out of the war. And even today they are trying to wring the last drop of profit out of this deception with the promise that America won't have to go to war.

War today is what they call a "total" war. There isn't such a thing as halfway in or halfway out. America's middle classes, as well as working class, may just as well make up their minds to that, if they don't want to be thrown head over heels into the war. If you don't want America to go through the dreadful experience that Europe is now enduring, you had better wake up and understand what is going on. Either this country is going to be all in or all out and we would be better off if we stayed all out.

The war is being sold to the middle class on a promise that through entering the war we are going to preserve our way of life. The middle class is supposed to have found a comfortable way worthy of preservation. But the entrance of the US into this war, no matter what the outcome in terms of the victory of one side or another, is inevitably going to wipe out forever that old "comfortable" middle class way of life. That is finished by this war and if America gets into it, it is finished for the American middle class too. If the middle class wants to preserve a while longer its way of life, it better wake up to the fact that there is only one way it can be done: Keep out of this war.

This war is the death struggle of the capitalist system. If America is so deeply involved in the death struggle of European imperialism that it cannot avoid jumping into the middle of it, participating in it, America will be taking the hard way, the most painful way to the future.

We need not be pessimistic about the future of the world at all. It is a painful thing to have to go through this period in which the dominant social and economic system is dissolving about us. It is a very destructive experience. But however destructive it may be, it cannot destroy the human race. It cannot destroy its intellectual achievements, it cannot destroy the tenacity, the determination and courage of the masses and that greatest of achievements, the knowledge that a better world is possible and the knowledge of how to bring about that better world.

The war in Europe has definitely placed on the historical order of the day the socialist revolution. There is no other road whereby peace can be restored to Europe and the life of the peoples of Europe preserved. Peace can be brought to Europe only through the dethroning of the ruling classes of each and every belligerent country without exception. War-devastated Europe can be rebuilt only if the yoke of capitalist profitmaking is removed from the neck of the European laboring people, and their creative ability is released; and the only way this is possible is through a socialist reorganization of Europe.

American capitalism is supposed to be stronger than that of Europe. It has achieved a higher development, so much so that America is practically equal in its productive forces to the rest of the capitalist world. American capitalist spokesmen and ideologists were of the opinion that the fate of this country is not necessarily and immediately tied up with the fate of the European systems. They used to tell us that the American way of life was superior and more stable than that of Europe. But these very same spokesmen are the ones today who come to us and tell us that the only way the American way of life can be preserved is by throwing America into the bloody imperialist mess in Europe. I would warn the gentlemen who give this message to America that they are accomplishing more in a few weeks than the Communist Party has been able to accomplish in twenty years in convincing the American people that we have got to think about a new social system for America. Because, if it is true that the only way to preserve the existing system in our country is through participation in this war, the American people, wanting no part in the war, are going to look for a system that will enable America to stay at peace.

Well, I should not object when the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie take over the tasks of the Communist Party in convincing the people that we have to have socialism in order to have peace. But I also know that these same gentlemen of the capitalist class, no matter how big a majority of the American people want peace, are going to carry us into war against the will of the people if they are permitted to do it.

Regardless of how big a majority of the American people would determine, as they will determine, that they want peace, even if it is necessary to establish socialism in America, if this is the only way we can have peace—these ruling class gentlemen will no more permit the people to make democratic decisions on socialism than they are now permitting a democratic decision on the question of war. They are going to give you no opportunity to vote on this question under the formal democracy of the American Constitution. They are first going to present you with an accomplished fact. And everyone who votes "no" is already being notified in advance that he is a traitor to his country. We are going to have a Hitler plebiscite on this question.

As a matter of fact in the last few weeks we have traveled so fast on the road of fascism in the US that it won't take us long to

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overtake and surpass Mussolini and Hitler. America always does things in a big way. And we are certainly doing things in a big way now. The destruction that has come to Europe will be brought to America too, if we permit it. I say, if we permit it.

After all, Americans have not been in the habit in their past history of allowing entrenched ruling classes and cliques to put things over on them at a crucial moment.

Looking back at some of the most critical years of our history, it looked pretty hopeless for the future of our country as far back as 1850. It is very good to recall that history again. In the last four years of the 1850's we had a situation in which our country was at the crossroads: Were we going to develop as a slave nation or a free nation? And both major traditional parties of the country were agreed that America should in the main travel along the path of slavery. The masses of America were determined to take a different path, the path of free labor, the path of bourgeois democracy, and in that determination they represented that future of America which has been realized in the last eighty-five years and has made America economically the most powerful nation in the world. But in the 1850's they faced, in all positions of power, entrenched reaction, those who were determined to make of America a slave country. Do you remember that the President of the US in that period, Buchanan, was in league with the secessionists of the South, using the office of President to prepare the destruction of the US? Do you recall that the Congress in both houses was just as overwhelmingly in control of the slave powers as the present Congress is controlled by those who are directing this country into the imperialist war? Do you remember that slave interests had complete control of the Supreme Court? And when after years of civil war, in order to carry through the measures to enable them to win the war, Lincoln had to pack the Supreme Court, enlarge it sufficiently to appoint a majority to overrule the adherents of the slave power and allow the American people to take the road of free development? The American people took that road. They smashed through overwhelming obstacles, they wiped out the slave power. They united America.

Lincoln is great in American history because he was the leader of the nation in that fight. He entered into that struggle as a proponent of compromise. He was determined to avoid the struggle, to compromise the struggle. It was the slave powers that forced him. Only after years of civil war and as a war measure did Lincoln issue the Emancipation Proclamation. But who can doubt today that, although Lincoln was not conscious in the first stages of the war of the tremendous cause that he was leading, the course of history and the will of the American people demanded the destruction and abolition of the slave system in America, even though this was carried through by a hesitating and reluctant instrument?

The American people can meet the present crisis with the same effectiveness as they met that crisis, the struggle against slavery. The present crisis is a deeper one. It is not only a national crisis, it is an international crisis. It is not only a crisis arising from one phase of the economic system, it is a crisis that goes to the very foundation of the social and economic system of the world except the Soviet Union, the only country that stands outside of this crisis.

In so far as the crisis is bound to grow more far reaching and more all-embracing, it requires determination and courage in order to meet and overcome it. Regardless of the complete lack of leadership from the traditional dominant parties, regardless of the fact that these parties are in the hands of the enemies of the people who are ready to sacrifice the people in this war, if only they can maintain their system of profits—regardless of these facts, allow me to express confidence that the American people are going to solve the crisis. And if they don't succeed in preventing the warmaking capitalists from involving America in the war, they are certainly going to bring America out of the war, free from the rule of the warmakers, and it will be an America of the people at last. EARL BROWDER.

Gibraltar of the Gulf

Key West, Fla.

REHOUSING, $650,000 worth, is at last coming to this southernmost city, which six years ago handed itself over to government relief agencies for rehabilitation. First the FERA and then the WPA had their fling, in what was regarded as the Nation's Social Experiment No. 1. The idea has been to convert Key West—formerly an industrial cigar, sponge, and fishing center—into a self-supporting tourist resort. The relief programs include everything from muralizing bar rooms to beachcombing. Owners of establishments catering to tourists are accumulating handsome profits, while half the population remains unemployed.

Key West has always needed rehousing. More than half of its houses are untenable according to ordinary standards. Some time ago the several owners of the houses seized the opportunity of letting the government demolish many of them. The occupants were forced to double up with relatives or move to Tampa, where living conditions are decidedly worse.

soriano
"... ONE THIRD OF A NATION IS ILL HOUSED ILL FED, ILL CLOTHED..."
"WE ARE ALL IMMIGRANTS OR THE DESCENDANTS OF IMMIGRANTS"
"I HATE WAR"
"THERE WILL BE NO BLACKOUT OF PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES!"

Soriano

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The Monroe Doctrine: 1823 to 1940

A century ago it helped Latin America. Today our administration revives it for imperialistic purposes. How the peoples south of the Rio Grande feel about it.

ONE of Paul Reynaud's last acts as premier of France was to prophesy that his government would, if necessary, carry on the war from American soil. A few days later the possibility of the French republic, based on Devil's Island or Martinique, conducting a military campaign against the conquerors of western Europe vanished into the limbo whence it came. It always was a preposterous idea, as preposterous as that the British empire, based in Canada, would similarly wage long range warfare to regain its lost islands of the northern seas. Indeed, Mr. Reynaud was merely following up Mr. Churchill's anticipation of the day when "the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation of the Old."

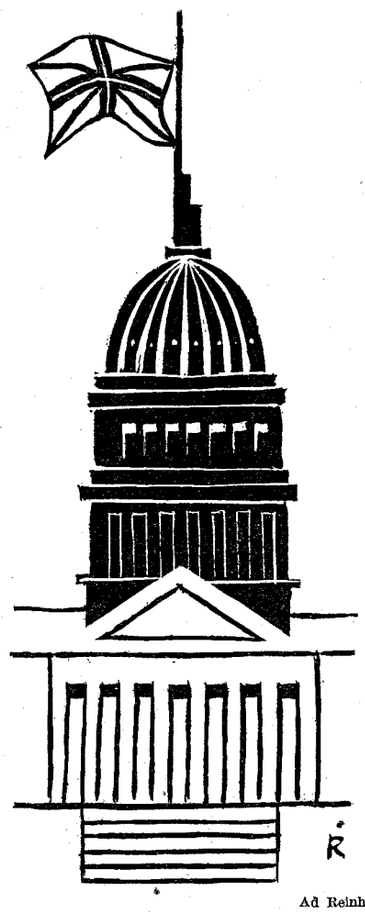
These pleas from the harassed imperialists of Europe provided much of the sentimental overtone needed to grease the ways to Armageddon. Another line to the war melody is heard in the pæan for "hemisphere protection" and a rejuvenation of the Monroe Doctrine. There has been a strange lack of harmony in these tones. The backbone of the Monroe Doctrine is its exclusively American orientation, its veto of involvement in things European.

The doctrine originated partly as a result of an earlier attempt to involve this hemisphere in the broils of Europe. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the liberating revolution in France was finding echoes in Europe and America. The colonies of Spain and Portugal had taken advantage of the confusion during the Napoleonic wars to wrench themselves loose from European domination. By 1820 they were well on the road to independent statehood. But by 1820 reaction, in the form of the Holy Alliance, was prepared for a comeback. The restored Spanish government decided to make a bid for recovery of the New World colonies. As a result, revolution broke out in Spain. When the alliance set up an intervention committee, the English approved; but when the French government showed itself a renegade from republicanism by providing the armed forces to suppress the Spanish revolution, the British became nervous; they feared that they might lose the new commercial advantages which they had won in trade with the independent republics of Latin America. As a maneuver against the French, therefore, they appealed to the United States to join them in opposing intervention in America. As foreign Minister Canning boasted, "I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence, to redress the balance of the Old."

The United States had only recently seceded from the British empire and confirmed that secession in 1812-14; she received the British suggestion of joint action with suspicion, and finally rejected it. In its place she adopted a policy which for the moment, and for some time after, happened to coincide with the interests of the British in Latin America. But it was an independent policy. The United States championed the independence of the Latin American countries, acting in the tradition of the American and French revolutions. Moreover, she declared that a threat to the liberty of any new, weak nation was a threat to all, especially in the same part of the world; and the United States was far from powerful in 1823. The statement also expressed a sense of aloofness and self-sufficiency.

CONTENT OF THE DOCTRINE

These were the major motives behind that expression of American foreign policy for the Americas known as the Monroe Doctrine. It consisted of four principles. The first was a proclamation stating that this country had no concern in the affairs of Europe, and would desist from interfering therein. The other three were prohibitions addressed to the powers of Europe, forbidding them to (1) set up new colonies in this hemisphere, (2) expand those colonies already existing, or (3) recover those colonies which had achieved a state of independence. Just that, and nothing more.



Ad Reinhardt

The history of the application and development of the Monroe Doctrine is long and complex. For our purpose it may be divided into two aspects: to what extent did it protect the states of Latin America from movements undermining their independence; and to what extent did it benefit the United States?

At the outset it must be admitted that these questions are interrelated. The growth upon this continent of sister republics free of foreign control, whether political or economic, would in itself be advantageous to this country. On the other hand, the United States frequently substituted its own domination for that of the European powers, to the advantage of certain capitalist groups in this country, perhaps, but to the detriment of the country as a whole and of the supposed beneficiaries of the doctrine.

There can be no question that the doctrine was originally of a progressive character. It was the antithesis of the program of the reactionary Holy Alliance, and to some extent it was a moral stimulant to the development of freedom in Latin America. But almost from the beginning it had three weaknesses.

In the first place, it had no reliable sanction beyond the moral power of the Washington government. This country was in no position to enforce its policy, and in times of crisis was unable to do so. The real sanction of the doctrine has been the coincidental interest of the British government, innocent of progressive principle, in enforcing a policy which was to its economic advantage; and for this purpose the British fleet was available.

The second weakness was the unilateral character of the doctrine. It presumed to champion the independence of sister republics, yet they had no part in it. This encouraged partial orientation toward a European power, which the doctrine was designed to circumvent, and more important, it divorced the Latin American republics from control over American hemisphere policy or a stake in the American interpretation of it.

NO ECONOMIC DEFENSE

A third weakness was the one-sidedly political character of the doctrine. It pretended to remove the republics of this hemisphere from the dangers of political influence from Europe, but there was no defense against economic control. The end result of this miscalculation was the practical discard of the original Monroe Doctrine in the struggle for

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power in Latin America, and the substitution for it of new principles, often added as corollaries to the doctrine.

Even the political protection of this hemisphere was not scrupulously assumed. In 1833 the British made a grab for the Falkland Islands; the United States was at odds with Argentina, their owner, and did not lift a hand. Later England was allowed to expand her holdings in Honduras, as part of a deal for English toleration of American canal enterprises. The French got away with murder and massacre of the Mexican people from 1860 to 1867. Spain invaded Peru and Chile in 1866, and the citizens of Valparaiso noted, amid bombs bursting in air, that the doctrine was strangely inoperative. During the same period the people of Santo Domingo, who had previously freed themselves, were again subjected to Spain, without objection from the United States.

Only two considerations determined the enforcement of the doctrine: the interest of the dominant group in the United States; and their freedom from preoccupation with other matters.

If the United States in this early period was seldom able to protect Latin America from political control, she was never able to regulate economic domination from abroad. The hold obtained by commercial, industrial, and, later, financial interests from England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Japan over the economy of the various Latin American states was not checked in the least by the doctrine; it was only checked by the economic power which the United States might choose to exert.

This leads to the final question of the supplements to the doctrine. Clay started the long roll of corollaries when he announced in 1825 that the United States would permit no exchange of sovereignty from one European power to another of possessions in this hemisphere. The justification was national defense: France had intended to buy Cuba from Spain, and France was a stronger power. The justification was probably sincere and acceptable then, but two points must be noted. No matter of principle was involved: in 1879 France bought Saint-Barthelemy from Sweden without objection. Secondly, there was no guarantee that the United States would interpret the rule by herself refraining from the seizure of occupied territories. On the contrary, the plea of defense was later used with regularity as a cloak for imperialist aggression. Best example: the war with Spain in 1898, which resulted in the establishment of an American protectorate over Cuba and seizure of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Today this corollary is being worked for more than it is worth in the demand that the possessions of Holland, France, and England be taken immediately into "protective custody."

Another dangerous corollary has been the umption on the part of the United States ernment of the right to control the foreign icy of Latin American states. It originated th Polk and has been exercised to varying grees in accordance with the needs of the dominant capitalist interests of this country. This policy reached its climax in the assertion of Olney, Cleveland's secretary of state: "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent [meaning hemisphere], and its fiat is law." The attempt to control the foreign policy of the Latin American republics has not by any means been relinquished by Franklin D. Roosevelt, though it was modified during the Good Neighbor phase along lines more in the interest of the peoples south of the Rio Grande. The main distinction between the old-line dollar diplomacy and the Good Neighbor policy is one of emphasis. The aggressive policy of Teddy Roosevelt and Taft, forged in the heyday of a rising imperialism, was able to take the direct route and coincide with similar uninhibited ruthlessness of capital at home. Franklin D. Roosevelt framed his policy to suit the conditions of intense competition and less firmly rooted control of a depression period. It was a time for wooing, not browbeating, both in the domestic and Latin American fields, and a parallel between the New Deal and the Good Neighbor stems from similar preconditions. The new spirit of self-confidence and self-reliance which the peoples of Latin America began to acquire in those brief years still remains in large measure to frustrate the renewed brutality of Mr. Roosevelt's more recent Strong Neighbor line. But Good or Strong—though the way varied with the dictates of expediency, the purpose remained constant: to preserve the western hemisphere as the sphere of influence for the United States. It is not without justification that Japan professes to imitate the American example by applying a Monroe Doctrine to eastern Asia.

SIGNIFICANT REVIVAL

At the present time the Monroe Doctrine is being revived and added to the Constitution as a basic American doctrine, for which we must be prepared to die. There is still an overtone of alleged protection of the republics of South America, although it is clear to the people of that continent and to many here that they need protection from the United States more than from any other menace. For the possibility of big business making a kill on this hemisphere has never been so real as it is now. German, Spanish, Italian, much of the Japanese economic influence has been dispersed; the English are too busy defending Civilization As We Know It to protect their economic rear. There could be no better time for a stab in the back. Given continuation of the war abroad and rising hysteria in the United States and Latin America (which will camouflage crimes of all sorts and suppress movements of protest), and the dagger will find its mark. Wall Street will show us how to "defend" a hemisphere and build a new American empire.

The pretense that the United States, or the interests of the American people, can be defended by reducing the peoples of Latin America to a colonial status has worn too thin. There is no enthusiasm for aggressive hemisphere imperialism. Even many members of Congress balked at authorizing the sending of the militia south of the border. Our people may have been unaware of the forces which set Bolivian fighting against Paraguayan in the Anglo-American struggle over the Chaco, but they will not see their own boys die on the Pampas. Nor will the peoples of Latin America indefinitely accept governments appointed from Washington.

In his speech at Charlottesville, Va., President Roosevelt pictured the United States as a "lone island" if the Nazis win the war, and thus raised the question of the self-sufficiency of the Americas. This may yet prove an embarrassing question. The alternative to ringing the Americas around with floating steel, studding the western hemisphere with concrete emplacements, infesting the air with quarter-million-dollar machines of destruction, under the guise of defense, is an awakening to the sober reality of two vast continents on which everything needed for the comfort and happiness of man is found—wealth which only an obsolete, desperate economic system is still able to withhold from the hands of the awakening peoples. Unwittingly the President has underscored the bankruptcy of the present order. The peoples of Latin America need not choose between war and "lone island" existence. They can choose lasting peace and prosperity through the socialist reorganization of their respective countries and the establishment of a great federation of free peoples.

LAWRENCE KRAUSE.

You're Telling Us!

"PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT is more popular in Wall Street today than at any other time since he took office as the chief executive of the nation. Not that he has been forgiven for the attitude he has had in the past toward the district but rather because a great many people there like his position on the European war situation.

"The new state of affairs is best exemplified by a telephone conversation yesterday between the head of a large investment firm and a broker friend. They were discussing the President's latest speech, and the broker expressed a dislike for his stand. A hot argument ensued and the banker became so incensed that he broke off business relations with him. And when a Wall Street banker tosses potential profits around that way over criticism of Mr. Roosevelt it may be taken for granted that times have changed."—*Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the New York "World-Telegram," in his column entitled "Wall Street," June 12.*

But He's Looking

"ARCHDUKE OTTO signed the Clipper's passenger list under the title 'Otto de Bar' and gave his nationality as Hungarian and his occupation as 'none.'"—*New York "Times" news story on occasion of the archduke's return to Europe from his visit in America.*

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They Rifled My Office, Too

Senator Wheeler warns against repetition of the Palmer Red Raids. After the last war the Justice Department "went from aliens to labor unions, and from labor unions to senators."

The pressure of popular opposition to the Roosevelt administration's drive toward war and its assault on civil liberties is beginning to manifest itself in Congress. On June 12 Sen. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana declared on the Senate floor:

"I agree, Mr. President, that America ought to wake up. American mothers ought to wake up; American youth ought to wake up; the American workingman ought to wake up—because anybody who has any sense at all knows what is happening. We know the propaganda that is going on, and every member of the Senate knows that every move is being made to lead us, if you please, down the road to war.

"I wish to say, so far as I am concerned—and in saying this I repeat what I have heretofore said—that I do not want to have to break with the administration; I do not want to have to oppose the Democratic Party; but if it becomes necessary to break with the Democratic Party, I shall break with it if it is going to be a war party. I want everyone who is interested in the matter to know that I am not going to support any candidate for President of the United States of America—no matter who he may be—who is going to try to get us into this war."

In an earlier speech in the Senate on May 31 Senator Wheeler sharply criticized the current "fifth column" hysteria and the attacks on the foreign born and minority political groups. At the same time Wheeler supported the huge Roosevelt war budget which is an integral part of the program that has produced the campaign against civil liberties. We present extracts from Senator Wheeler's May 31 speech as published in the *Congressional Record*—THE EDITORS.

THE senator from Nebraska [Mr. Norris] has just concluded a speech of several hours, which I regret more members of the Senate did not hear. He called attention to what went on during and after the last war with reference to persons being persecuted and denied their civil rights. That the same thing is taking place or beginning to take place in this country is revealed by nearly every daily newspaper which is printed in America. I happened to pick up and read the New York *Times* of this morning. I noticed a headline: "Two Labor Party men beaten by paraders. Attacked after passing out anti-war bills."

I know nothing of the circumstances, but this indicates the hysteria which is sweeping the country, and particularly in some of the cities of the East. . . .

It is impossible to defend our country against any possible threats, internal or external, without defending with our last breath the very basis on which this country was founded. Our earliest statesmen formed and stated an American policy of civil liberties sufficiently broad and strong, and so fundamentally in accord with American thought then and now, that liberty has survived and continued to grow in our land despite assaults upon it made in successive periods of grave emergency and strife. We have fought for liberty in the past with the strength that only freemen can muster. We must continue to fight in the future for the liberty which is our greatest defense against oppression or invasion by tyrants. . . .

Let me call attention to the object lesson which we have before us today. I recently traveled across the country; and during my trip patriotic, good citizens came to me and said that we ought to pass stringent laws to suppress this group or to suppress that group. It should be remembered by all those persons who are talking about suppressing their opponents, or persons who have different views from those held by some of us, that when Mr. Hitler came into power he promised the people of Germany that he would suppress all labor unions, that he would reduce wages, that he would increase profits, and that he would stamp out all liberal thought in all of Germany. The persons who put Mr. Hitler in power—the great German bankers and the great industrial leaders—did so because they wanted to see their opponents crushed and liberalism stamped out in Germany. . . .

NO TIME FOR PERSECUTION

The spirit of a free people is not made any more free by knocking out the props from under freedom. Quite the opposite is the case. So long as there are millions of unemployed we cannot afford to compel people to work longer hours or to accept lower wages. Neither can we preserve liberty and justice for some by denying it to others. This is not a time to harass, hound, or persecute anyone, no matter what his station in life may be, whether it is high or whether it is low. It seems to me this is a time for all classes of citizens in the United States, whether they be businessmen or whether they be laboring people, to unite for the common purpose of maintaining democracy here. It is time for all of us to stop calling each other names. Proposals which may have the effect of persecuting minorities are fundamentally un-American. If they involve the denial or infringement of the civil rights granted under the Constitution, restrictive measures may become as obnoxious to freedom-loving Americans as any disloyal action by a citizen or non-citizen. Hysteria or mob action without due process of law can have no part in the solution of any problem raised by the presence in our country of undesirable immigrants. . . .

Already zealous persons, in their vigilance and their desire to be helpful, have acted and spoken without calmness and reason. Some of the instances reported by the newspapers during recent weeks might move us to laughter if they were not so prophetic of more dreadful things to come. For example, last week here in Washington police and federal officers surrounded a downtown building on Twelfth Street to make a raid on suspected "fifth-columnists." They dashed up three flights of stairs only to find one of the alleged plotters propped up in bed, innocently reading a mystery novel. In Philadelphia the police had to rescue from a barrage of eggs two youngsters who had obtained a permit for a peace talk. The speakers had to be taken to a police station as a protective measure. In Illinois a number of radicals were threatened by mob action, and they too were compelled to take refuge in a police station overnight. Three persons were ejected from a border town in Texas by an angry mob of citizens. They were suspected of being Nazi sympathizers and the literature they carried was burned. After the aroused emotions of the townspeople had calmed down, it was discovered that the victims were in fact missionaries of a religious sect, and that the leaflets they were distributing were religious tracts filled with Bible quotations.

It so happened that a daughter of mine returned from St. Louis this morning. She told me that in St. Louis people are going around painting swastikas upon the homes of families of German descent. That is happening not only in St. Louis; the tide of intolerance is again rising in our country as it did during the last war. . . .

CIVIL RIGHTS ESSENTIAL

It is . . . still realized that we cannot backtrack on either social progress or civil rights. The results of maintaining high standards of wages and hours and an extended rather than a curtailed program of economic security are value not only in themselves. They have now become a part of the American way of life which, if we should ever have to go to war, we would be fighting to retain. Meanwhile, they are an essential part of the defense of our country, since the man who has but a small stake in democracy and has enjoyed few, if any, of its benefits cannot be expected to do battle as energetically in its defense as the man who has a job, who has some measure of security for himself and his family, and who is the beneficiary of all our heritage of freedom. . . .

In the emotional chaos which the horrors of war produce, it is difficult to remember—but essential to remember—that it is impossible to be too free to fight for liberty, too democratic to fight for a republic, too jus to fight injustice. The best bulwark agair dictatorship is democracy; so long as the c exists there can never be the other.

It was after the post-war raids again aliens in 1920—raids which were replete wit

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a disregard for legal, civil, and personal rights and which were denounced at the time by eminent members of the bar as savoring "of the worst practices of tyranny"—that the Hon. Charles Evans Hughes was led to make a grave speculation. He said: "We may well wonder in view of the precedents now established whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could survive another great war even victoriously waged." . . .

The raids were investigated by a Senate committee, as well as by a federal court, and evidence was presented of arrests without warrant, searches and seizures without warrant, sardinelike packing of hundreds of men for days under revolting conditions, as in the "black hole" of Detroit, transportation of arrested persons on railroads and through city streets in chains, disregard of elementary decency in the treatment of women, some of them pregnant, and separation of families so that destitute dependents were unable to get help from breadwinners held incommunicado or "lost" in undisclosed places of detention. . . .

Let me remind some members of the Senate of what took place in 1920. During that period of hysteria it was the popular thing to make speeches from the public platform, denouncing everybody with a German name, to talk about "fifth columns" or whatever they were called at that time, and to ask that laws be passed to put certain people in prisons or in concentration camps. Many loyal, honest American citizens, some of our very finest and most patriotic citizens, indulged in that kind of speech and action. We had a Loyalty League and many similar organizations. Men sought and were elected to office on a platform of arousing hysteria against minority groups. But also let me call attention to the fact that these same men who sought to popularize themselves by besmirching the character of others, were forgotten after the hysteria was over. In many instances they became anathema in the communities in which they lived.

Now once again we witness a temporary hysteria because of the use of "fifth column" tactics by Germany. I want to see our government spend every single cent that is necessary to be spent for defense purposes, but I do not think we ought to be carried away by the hysteria which is now sweeping the country into vast expenditures of public money without giving serious thought and careful planning to the entire program.

Authoritative reports, some of them official, describe the conduct of the raids about which I have spoken, and show in detail that the victims were mainly persons who had committed no crime and had done no violence, and that the government police, under cover of dealing with aliens, accorded similar treatment to many citizens. . . .

I am calling attention to these matters now because all over this country, wherever I go, I can see the same hysteria being aroused again. I think it has been aroused partly, if I may say so, by some of the speeches which have been made by officials in Washington, which have frightened many of our people. . . .

Writing in 1937, Attorney General Cummings and Assistant Attorney General McFarland referred to the post-war activities of the FBI, showing, as did the Walsh report, that there was but a slim line dividing those activities from activities against labor unions. They said: "To many this was a sordid period, echoes of which are still heard upon occasion."

There can be no question but that these raids were indeed "sordid." They led to the establishment of a powerful secret police system whose capacity for and habits of lawless behavior knew no bounds. I, for one, have not forgotten the investigation of the FBI in 1924, in which I brought out that an agent of that bureau had sought to rifle the offices of the elder Senator La Follette. Likewise, during that investigation they rifled my office, as I stated on yesterday.

The Department of Justice agents went from aliens to labor unions, and from labor unions to senators. Had not Attorney General Stone brought such practices to a stop there is no telling how far matters might have gone. . . .

Get Together, Boys

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT and his army chief, Gen. George C. Marshall, are not coordinated yet on this subject of invasion. It's a pretty important issue so far as the American people are concerned, and someone should suggest to FDR that he listen more attentively when the general speaks. The New York *Post* reports on June 11 that published testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee on defense appropriations reveals that General Marshall told the committee:

> This plan is entirely devoted to the problems as we visualize them in the western hemisphere. . . . We do not visualize any invasion of this country. An air raid or something of that sort is possible but, frankly, at the present moment we do not see it in the offing. But we see all manner of possibilities in the western hemisphere.

The Sage of Palo Alto

"HE [Herbert Hoover] expressed belief it was not the President's proposal to produce fifty thousand planes to be 'put away in hangars.' "—*News story in St. Louis "Post-Dispatch," May 28.*

D. Lewis

"If you don't want brushes, could I sell you a Phi Beta Kappa key?"

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GM's Knudsen: Spy Chief

Meet the man in charge of production on FDR's "defense" board. He's a past master at producing Fifth Columns.

SINCE his appointment as the head of production in the national armaments program, William S. Knudsen has been acclaimed as the greatest manufacturing expert in the land. The president of General Motors has evidently learned an awful lot in a very short time. For in 1938 he knew next to nothing. That, at any rate, is what he told the Senate Committee on Unemployment Relief. At the height of the 1937-38 "recession," which many financial writers and even some New Dealers attributed to a sitdown of big business, Knudsen was summoned to Washington. He was asked to explain to the Senate committee why, in the face of a $452,447,000 surplus—$54,000,000 greater than in 1936—he suddenly felt the necessity of laying off thirty thousand men. Knudsen didn't know.

After revealing that General Motors had raised prices on its cars and promptly suffered a 50 percent drop in sales, Knudsen confessed to not the slightest suspicion of a connection between these two phenomena. Lack of demand, he blandly announced, did not at all influence him to reduce prices. Would a still greater drop, say another 20 percent, have any influence? He couldn't say. "That had not occurred to you up to this time?" "No, sir."

Chairman Byrnes wanted to know whether he believed in the doctrine of scarcity. What was that? Byrnes explained that it meant control of production as, for example, on the farm. The GM president said he knew nothing about farms. "Your idea is that there should be no control of production?" "I don't know," he replied.

SALES MYSTERY

Neither did he know, or have the faintest idea, what could have caused the "recession." He certainly had not anticipated it. He had gone along quietly making cars when, bang! sales dropped off. Hadn't he the remotest thought as to why the sales declined? Not a thought, unless it could be that "the average man feels that work is going to be slack and he won't commit himself, even if he happens to need a car at the moment."

"Would you say that in September you had no intimation at that time, up to the first of December, of any slacking up in work?"

"No, sir."

"You think the average man did have it; that he was better advised about it and he stopped buying?"

"I cannot account for that," answered Knudsen.

Nor could he satisfactorily account for failure to use part of the nearly $500,000,000 surplus to keep men at work. The chairman pressed him on this point. Wasn't the surplus for a rainy day? Knudsen said that when men were laid off it never entered his head where the money to support them was to come from. "Who is going to pay the bills matters to me very little," he said.

But the constant harping of the committee on that surplus must have had some effect on Knudsen. For when he got home to his "less than magnificent" residence in Palmer Woods, Detroit, he began thinking about it. And the more he thought about it the more he had to admit it was wrong for a big surplus to be lying around like that, useless. So he took it out and voted himself a fat increase in salary. A few days later he decreed a general salary cut for office employees, as high as 30 percent for those making over $50,000 a year.

Knudsen took that 30 percent cut with the rest. And after taking it, he discovered that the increase he had previously voted himself was so fat his salary was still 18 percent higher than in 1937. That's Knudsen for you. He gets things done.

It must not be inferred that these are the only qualities that fit him to be head of the nation's armaments industry. He has, for example, a "million dollar smile." He stands six foot two in his stocking feet, weighs two hundred and some odd pounds, and started out as an immigrant boy with $30 in his pocket. Furthermore, he has had some experience with armaments. As production manager for the Ford Motor Co. during World War I, he supervised the manufacture of Eagle Boats and ambulances.

Even as late as 1936 Knudsen, by that time executive vice president of General Motors, was still dabbling in armaments. Those were the days when employers, prodded by the Wagner act, were loudly insisting that the open shop was the workers' idea, not theirs. When they weren't busy taking out injunctions against the Labor Board, Knudsen and the then GM president, Alfred P. Sloan, joined heartily in this chorus.

All the time they were making public statements to the effect that their workers were free to organize and bargain collectively, Knudsen and Sloan were laying in munitions to use against those presumptuous enough to take them at their word. The records covering these armament purchases were ordered destroyed when it was learned the Senate Civil Liberties Committee wanted to see them. Those records that somehow escaped the flames, however, reveal such interesting transactions as the purchase of: "Ten no. 16 gun clubs and ten dozen (120) no. 16-A shells for same" and "two long range gas guns, single action, of the hammer-hinged type, at $40 each, and twelve long range tear gas charges for these guns, at $90 a dozen, or a total of $170."

But it is in the field of the fifth column that Knudsen is likely to make his highest mark. He is probably one of the foremost authorities in the country on the fifth column, and why not? He supported one for years. The records on this venture, too, are incomplete, having likewise been destroyed before Senators LaFollette and Thomas could see them. But those taken from the files of Pinkerton and other labor spy agencies reveal that, over a period of thirty months, Knudsen authorized the expenditure of nearly $1,000,000 for fifth column work among his employees.

Knudsen's spies were not content with spying on the workers and sending in reports that resulted in discharge and blacklist of those having union leanings. They were not content with worming their way into the offices of the unions for the purpose of breaking them up. Knudsen's spies spied on other spies; they spied on GM's competitors. They did not even scruple, when Knudsen ordered it, to spy on officials of the US government.

But of principal concern today is how Knudsen's new appointment jibes with President Roosevelt's assurance that the armaments drive shall be conducted with every consideration for the rights of labor. If that implies acceptance of the Wagner act, Knudsen is out. He just cannot get used to the idea that the Wagner act is part of the law of the land. It is, in his opinion, "the greatest drawback to good industrial relations." His attitude toward labor unions is just the same. "The union movement in the United States is doomed," says he, unless a new leadership can be provided that will prevent lockouts such as the Chrysler Corp. ordered against the workers last fall.

KNUDSEN LEARNS

It took a long strike to compel Knudsen to bargain collectively with his employees in the first place and it took a succession of smaller strikes thereafter to convince him of the wisdom of living up to the contract he had signed. Although the General Motors Corp. is recognized by the Federal Trade Commission as the greatest money-maker in the history of the world, it has stubbornly fought every attempt of its employees to secure an annual wage equal to the federal minimum for health and decency; and at this writing is threatening to provoke a strike over the union's demand for a 10 percent raise.

If it be supposed that the UAW-CIO's overwhelming victory in the recent NLRB elections would soften Knudsen's attitude toward labor, Knudsen himself quickly dispelled that notion. In the negotiations that followed he stalled for weeks and ended by offering a contract in the nature of an ultimatum, which every local voting on it has rejected unanimously.

The Detroit Board of Commerce and the pro-Vandenberg Detroit papers have expressed their gratification over the appointment of Knudsen, the man who not so long ago denounced the administration's policy in the GM sitdown strike. Workers, however, can see nothing hopeful in the prospect of a man with his pronounced anti-labor bias having anything whatever to say about the labor policies of the so-called defense program.

HARVEY T. SCUDDER.

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Triumvirate of Disintegration

Reaction turns for moral authority to defectors from the ranks of progress. Mumford, Frank, and MacLeish play their parts.

SOME twenty years ago, in the period after the first world war, a large publishing house held a meeting of its officers and department heads to consider a peculiar problem. "Think books," more officially though more aridly known as "nonfiction," were increasing in sales; and of the "think books," those that the president of the firm considered "radical" were the sales leaders. The warnings of writers like Keynes, Beard, Wells, Shaw, and Upton Sinclair undoubtedly had the ear of the public. This was not to the liking of the gentlemen assembled.

The remedy decided on was simple—as simple as the diagnosis, which was that the radicals were succeeding by default; the better tory minds were not giving them any competition. Let the better tory minds come forward with the ripe fruits of their wisdom and experience, and the radicals would sink through the bottom of the best seller lists.

Some six months later the first products of this intellectual muster of the right began to appear. Much of it was ghost-written and had the dressed-dummy quality of that branch of literature. The tory, facing the public "in person" instead of through his public relations counsel, suddenly appeared to feel the burdens of conscience; the one or two positive statements were so arrogant they repelled even the tory brethren. So far as I know, no similar special effort to spread tory doctrine among the intelligentsia has since been made.

Recently, however, a need on the part of the tories to acquire spiritual "face" has been felt. It has been felt, not to satisfy any spiritual hunger on their part, but to secure moral authority to enable them to lead the country into war. And just when they felt the need to be urgent, certain writers in spiritual adornment appeared with their brushes moist and held high. Mr. Lewis Mumford, Mr. Waldo Frank, Mr. Archibald MacLeish, and others arrived, denouncing liberalism, assailing some of the noblest purposes of our civilization as disintegrators of moral forces.

Certainly reaction can make good use of this reinforcement of "moral" strength. Messrs. Mumford, Frank, and MacLeish carry with them much moral prestige, partly acquired through their association with the left. They had become veritable high pressure tanks of moral indignation. And they have brought up these stores to the right at a well chosen time.

One would think that the last thing Mumford, Frank, and MacLeish would want to do would be to strengthen the hands of the American counterparts of Weygand and Churchill, of those men who, not bothering to button all the buttons of their disguises, are posing as anti-fascists in order to prepare the way for *their* fascism.

However, we have Mr. Frank calling on us to cast away reason and science, which have been the chief sources of moral strength in our civilization and which have been among the first victims in the fascist assault upon our civilization. In their place Mr. Frank proposes that we adopt medieval salvation. This, Mr. Frank tells us, will give us that famous "sense of the whole." The fascists, we may observe, went further back for a faith to replace "reason," and they too have propounded a "sense of the whole" of their own.

On his part Mr. Mumford would have us go hysterically into action at once. We must stop reasoning, he says; we must let ourselves give way to our pure emotions; we must act! There is a war ahead; let us pile in. I should like to remind Mr. Mumford of a certain war for the return of a beautiful kidnapee which ended with a city thoroughly looted and the lady completely forgotten. Other noble wars, including the crusades, when they were led by people with a profit-and-loot habit of mind, have had outcomes depressingly different from the noble motives which had been announced. We can agree with Mr. Mumford on the value of action, but only where it could, unpervertably, serve the cause of democracy.

Of all three, however, Mr. MacLeish's attack is the most insidious and most dangerous. It pays lip service to certain noble books and then proceeds to outlaw them. The procedure is similar to that by which a courteous college president gets rid of an unorthodox professor. The danger lies in the method, which is more persuasive than Mr. Frank's. Mr. Frank says a good thing is bad; Mr. MacLeish says, a good thing is good but, in the present emergency, its effects are harmful. This appears reasonable and provides a convenient formula for attacks and, ultimately, suppression of other good things.

Mr. MacLeish's statement is not only harmful, but it is wrong. He castigates certain writers as having been factors for spiritual demoralization, for paralyzing our will for action. From such minds and such books as he mentions, however, has issued one of the few streams of moral energy, that have flowed in our generation. The effect of Mr. MacLeish's statement, as the arc of inference widens, will be disastrous to anything progressive, since anything can be condemned as a factor for spiritual demoralization. I hope we shall not see the day when his statements are used to justify the burning of books.

Focusing from high places in the political and economic landscape tends to produce peculiar distortions of vision. It is perhaps his new eminence that has led Mr. MacLeish to locate spiritual demoralization, not where he formerly accurately placed it in the surfeited raiders of the American continent, but in one of our few obvious sources of moral integration, the writers of protest against inhumanity.

There is the fact to begin with, which Richard Aldington, one of the writers mentioned by Mr. MacLeish, pointed out: that their books, because of the publishing structure of the country, could not have had the influence Mr. MacLeish attributes to them. If there is widespread disillusionment in the country, its promoters must be looked for elsewhere. If America's youth is skeptical, it is not because they read these books—most of them read books of quite a different order—but because they have been denied a dignified and useful place in society, because they have been denied normal ambitions. It is not the writers who have denied them. The power of denial rests with those at the controls of our economic system. It is our economic system which produces skepticism and cynicism.

Above all, the writers whom Mr. MacLeish attacks were not cynics or skeptics. Cynics and skeptics do not risk life and reputation. They were of the company and of the kind who went to defend democracy in Spain and inspired others to go while the present defenders of democracy in the counting houses were embargoing democracy in Spain and keeping it from arming itself against its murderers. Such writers, whom Mr. MacLeish would have us believe to be incapable of emotion or action, gave glorious examples of emotion and action. They were conspicuous in our time as generators of moral force and enemies of spiritual disintegration.

To come a little closer home, when the New Deal was still healthy, its most enthusiastic advocates, always ready to protest and picket when it was threatened, were the sort of writers whom Mr. MacLeish has maligned. They gave the New Deal this enthusiastic advocacy because they saw it as an extension of democracy, an institutionalization of a few basic rights for labor, the first steps to protect the American people from economic disaster, and, through the WPA cultural projects, the greatest extension of culture among the people since the institution of the free public school. Who were the skeptics and cynics before this effort for democracy, whose maintenance would have much enriched our stores of moral energy? I think Mr. MacLeish will find more of them in his present than in his past company. It is there that he will find the demoralizers, the paralyzers of will. Cutting off the influence of the progressive writers in our country will guarantee the spread of apathy, a dangerous precondition of fascism.

We can now return to our beginning. Reaction has never been able to make a moral defense before the people because its relation to the people is indefensible. It turns for moral authority to defectors from the ranks of progress. These can bring only a limited moral authority—tarnished to begin with by the knowledge of the defection and frustrated finally by the fact that the old prestige cannot long survive in its new association. Very rapidly the reactionary and the former liberal or radical become indistinguishable. The moral force, generated by the toil and the struggle of progressives, is non-transferable.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

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The Willkie Boom Boom

Will the GOP nominate the head of a billion dollar corporation? Winsome Wendell's liberalism. Barbara Giles discusses Dorothy Thompson's favorite.

I GIVE up. Here, on the eve of the Republican nominating convention, it has become necessary to discuss seriously the candidacy of Wendell L. Willkie. I'm not Lewis Carroll and nobody else can do this job properly. The Willkie wonderland is too much for me. Consider: if the Republicans choose him as their 1940 standard bearer, it will be on the theory that he can beat FDR because they're so much alike. Mr. Willkie is a utilities magnate who appears in the *New Republic* writing about civil liberties and in *Fortune* writing about "We, the People." He heads a $1,200,000,000 corporation and says, "My only quarrel with the Communists is that they are too reactionary." Until 1936 he had never voted the Republican ticket. His only direct political experience has been a fight with the TVA because of its heretical program to provide electricity at more reasonable rates than Willkie's Commonwealth & Southern found profitable. He has been likened to Jack London by people who are most ardent in wanting him to restore the White House to the GOP. Democrats generously recommend him to the Republicans as a candidate with horse sense, a Hoosier manner, liberalism, robustness, candor, and a coy dimple. In the last week or so the dark horse has been hitched to something like a bandwagon.

PROPHET KROCK

Only one thing sustains me. This is a sort of quiet, betting interest I've had for some years in how often Republican strategists will act on the tips that Arthur Krock of the New York *Times* hands them in his column on the editorial page. It was Mr. Krock who first suggested, on Feb. 23, 1939, that Wendell might be willing. He did it, as he explained later, only "lightly," in the form of an imaginary conversation between some jolly politicos. But the Willkie idea caught on. Last November Gen. Hugh Johnson, a fellow fifth-columnist of Mr. Krock's, declaimed to the Bond Club of New York that here was a man, by God. Five months later Dorothy Thompson took up the torch. Miss Thompson, who is less capable than Mr. Krock of light touches, went "On the Record" for her man in an outburst of trills that started with his "winsome temper" and ended with his "hatred of persecution." Russell Davenport resigned as managing editor of *Fortune* to promote the Willkie boom. Oren Root Jr., grandson of Elihu, began collecting "Willkie for President" petitions. Clubs bearing the candidate's name blossomed throughout the nation. Mr. Willkie himself, insisting the whole thing was a frolic that he wouldn't think of taking seriously, clambered on platforms and talked earnestly through microphones. On June 14 Arthur Krock was able to announce with pretty confusion that he felt as Alexander Woollcott must have when Alec recommended a little known book that turned into a best seller.

Wendell L. Willkie

Let's be sensible about this. Do you really want a long, documented analysis proving that this man isn't any more liberal than Roosevelt or Herb Hoover? Or one dissecting his charm? There's nothing complicated about the latter. Mr. Willkie is a big, genial man, just forty-eight, with an intelligent face, a nice smile, and an exceptionally good voice. His language has a faintly literary quality of simplicity and flexibility. He speaks with a vigor that does not seem affected. In short, he makes little Tom Dewey look like a vaudeville punk, and Vandenberg and Taft like puppets left out in the rain. Miss Thompson made plain that she thought the Republicans would be fools to pass up a man whose highest qualification was his unlikeness to other Republican candidates. He was not a Babbitt, Miss Thompson said; he had "natural artistry . . . a provincial air combined with anything but a provincial viewpoint . . . plenty of humor about capitalists." In fact he was so good that when Dorothy turned around and nominated FDR as her savior of Western civilization, she gave Wendell second place on the ticket. The New York *Post* has also wondered why, since Mr. Willkie claims to be so liberal, he doesn't run with the Democrats. One might ask the *Post* in turn why Mr. Roosevelt doesn't run with the Republicans—but this brings us back to wonderland, and we're trying to keep things simple.

About the Willkie liberalism. Recently he made a speech in St. Louis which the *Post-Dispatch* of that city printed in full (with an editorial titled "He Has 'It'"). The candidate said that we must not overrate Hitler or the fifth column. He explained that Hitler was merely a man who had come to power "by exploiting for his own purposes forces that were working for him every day, in every democracy of the world, before the present war." Which is just what liberals say. But wait—Mr. Willkie was talking about the French Popular Front, which "demoralized" industry by raising wages and lowering hours. He was talking about British statesmen who weren't "honest" enough to offer the people, as Churchill did, nothing but blood, tears, toil, and sweat. Most of all, he was talking about the United States. The "fifth column" is national disunity, with the country broken down into "hostile groups, capital, labor, economic royalists, each fighting against the other." The defense program will "actually cost ten times a few billion dollars" and working hours may have to be increased. We should avoid "candystick theories" of the old New Deal and any promises but the honest Churchill kind. "The curse of democracy today, in the United States as well as Europe, is that everyone has been trying to please the public."

Does that give you a clear picture of the forces in every democracy that helped Hitler to power? Mr. Willkie, who has been FDR's drummer boy in the "short of war" campaign to help the Allies, proposes simply that we fight fascism by taking it to our bosoms. Of course the byline on this plan is not Mr. Willkie's exclusively. He gave Winston Churchill due credit. There were others he might have mentioned: Roosevelt himself, for example, except that Willkie is trying to run against him. Besides, the Hoosier boy has never forgiven the old New Deal for fussing so long before TVA paid him $78,600,000—a few million less than he wanted—for his Tennessee utility properties. Mr. Willkie still likes to pretend there's a "New Deal" which goes about devouring widows and orphans.

THAT LIBERALISM

Sam Insull would have been proud of this liberal. Remember Willkie's fight with TVA? It all comes back to me—the goldplated lobbyists, court injunctions, broken contracts—when I read Wendell's pleas for a *business-like* administration of social reforms. Chattanooga's only liberal paper, the *News,* was one casualty of that battle. Supporting TVA, the *News* tangled with the Tennessee Electric Power Co., a Commonwealth & Southern subsidiary. Willkie's men helped create a *Free*

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Press, battened it on TEP ads at fancy prices, and boycotted the *News* to death. In 1935 the people of Chattanooga were treated to $20,000 of Commonwealth & Southern money. Not all the people—it went to a Citizens and Taxpayers Association, which was interested in the pending ballot on TVA versus private utilities. The association's job was to scare or entice fellow citizens into "voting right." More than a hundred employees of the TEP suddenly found themselves possessed of real estate, enabling them to vote. Willkie lost the fight three to one. He confessed later that he had made a mistake—the $20,000 hadn't been enough.

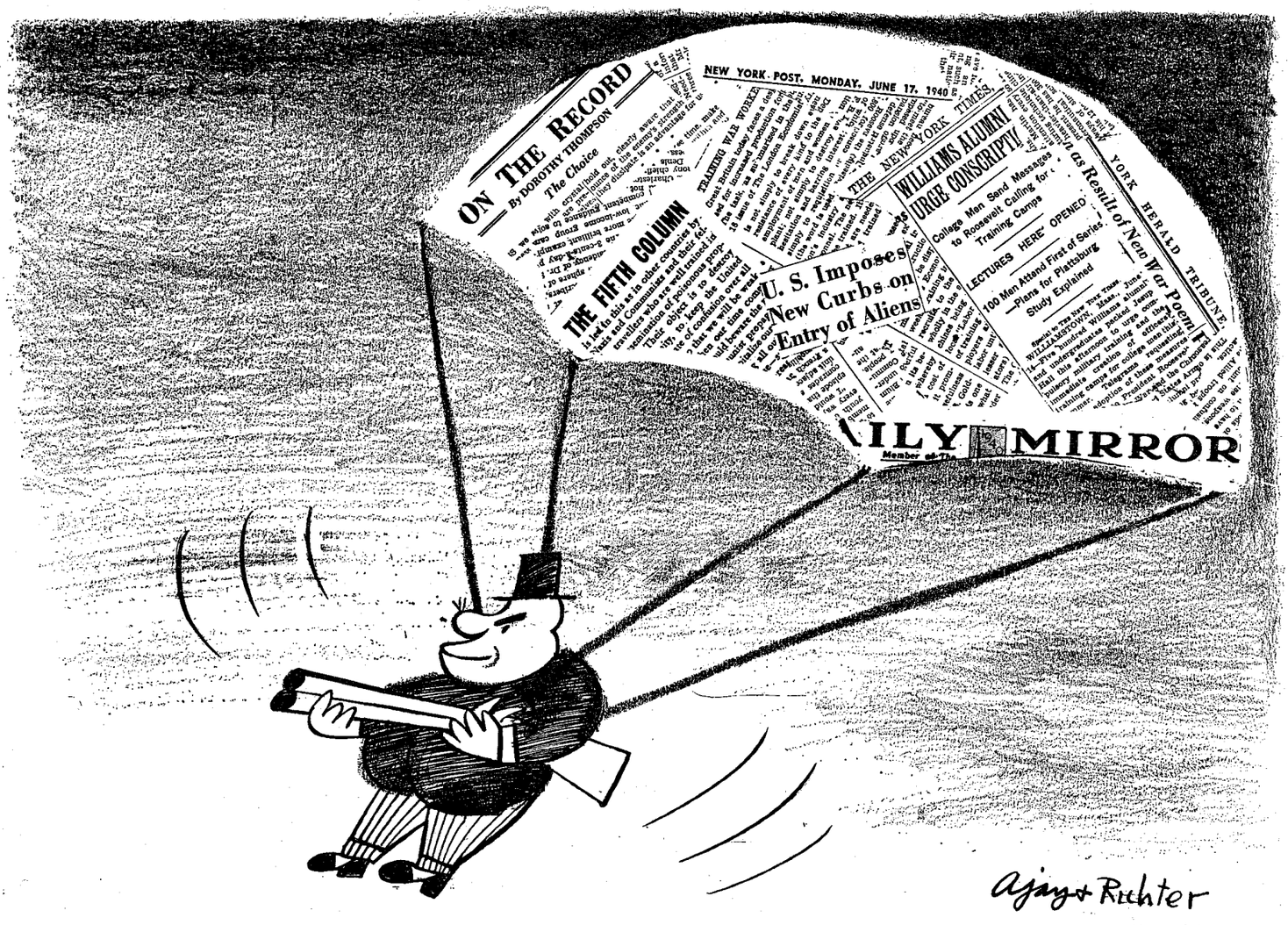
"WE, THE PEOPLE"

The old New Deal bit him in other ways. It offended his liberalism. His "We, the People" pamphlet (a reprint of the *Fortune* article) explains why. It deals with "the flagrant and ambitious extension of government power" over the people. You can inject more of the Willkie candor into it yourself by just substituting "big business" for "the people" throughout. The procedure is perfectly fair too. As one of the publicity puffs about Willkie states it, "He stands for private enterprise." See? It's as simple as Tom Dewey.

Maybe I should explain at this point that Willkie really used to be a progressive of sorts. He comes of an insurgent Midwestern family that went for William Jennings Bryan, old Bob La Follette, and Teddy the trust-buster. In college days Wendell was a "radical" who exalted Jefferson. Between studies he played at hobo (the Jack London touch) and did tough manual jobs. As a young lawyer in Akron he defended the civil liberties of rubber workers. Some years later Willkie landed in the legal department of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., and progressed to Commonwealth & Southern, becoming president in 1933. He is a director of Morgan's First National Bank. His sole use for progressivism now is to squirt it over his speeches like eau de cologne—and there's less of that since he's trying to outdo Roosevelt. He does, however, still talk paternally about the little business man. One of the many "voluntary" Willkie committees warns that he "will not run unless he gets a clear go-ahead signal from the people at the nominating convention. By 'the people' he does not mean Wall Street. . . . Willkie will be nominated, if he is nominated, because average business men and farmers want him." This is a sample of the Willkie humor and it should get a good guffaw out of Joe Pew.

These "volunteers" in Willkie's campaign provide some new notes in wonderland. Each group is supposed to spring up unbeknown to the others and suddenly appear before the candidate crying "Surprise, surprise!" There is, for example, a Women's Committee that "started with a kitchen chair and table" and includes among its leaders a vice president of the Chase National Bank and the manager of the Women's Department of the National City Bank. The ladies explain that they're housewives and have a homey interest in the national budget. I am less amused by the committee's boast that a housemaid used her afternoon off to distribute its "Willkie for President" letters. I do not laugh when I read that an Arizona truckdriver sent the president of Commonwealth & Southern a dollar to buy a watch "because he had heard Mr. Willkie had no watch and no automobile." To get right down to it, this 1940 wonderland makes me a little ill. Without encroaching on Mr. Krock's territory I should like to suggest to the GOP command that this is no time for mad-hatter tea parties. Mr. Willkie may believe that people like jam yesterday and jam tomorrow but never jam today. He may hope that pouring corporation butter into the watchsprings of economy will make it run. But the people do not share his belief. What's more, they would as soon leave Tweedledum and Tweedledee to the Carroll books. The 1940 specimens are not so amiable or innocent as their prototype looked to Alice.

BARBARA GILES.


ON THE RECORD
By DOROTHY THOMPSON
The Choice
THE FIFTH COLUMN
NEW YORK POST. MONDAY, JUNE 17, 1940
TRAINING WAR WORKERS
WILLIAMS ALUMNI URGE CONSCRIPTION
College Men Send Messages to Roosevelt Calling for Training Camps
LECTURES HERE OPENED
100 Men Attend First of Series —Plans for Platsburg Study Explained
U. S. Imposes New Curbs on Entry of Aliens
YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
as Result of New War Peril
ILY MIRROR
Member of The
Ajay+Richter

Ajay and Mischa Richter

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I Am a Domestic

A houseworker tells her story. Seven days a week with Thursday afternoons off. "Grant us a small measure of human dignity."

THEY just can't be as bad as they seem to me—these women I have worked for as a domestic. After all, I knew many fine women in various capacities before I was forced, as a penniless widow of forty, to go out to service in order to earn a living for my child and myself.

No, she can't be as bad as she seems, this average woman who hires a maid—so overbearing, so much a slavedriver, so unwilling to grant us even a small measure of human dignity. But I have had three years of experience in at least a dozen households to bear eloquent witness to the contrary.

Of course I am speaking of the average woman. There must be many exceptions. But in my experience the only exception I encountered was a woman whose friends thought her a trifle crazy.

It was true that she employed me by way of astrology—that is, of all the many applicants she figured that my date of birth showed that we would get on well together. I cooked for her one week by astrology and by a color chart the next. That is, our dinner would be entirely purple one day—eggplant, purple cabbage, and beets; and next it would consist of golden corn, yellow squash, carrots, and oranges. And sometimes, poor dear, she would ask me to sit by her bed and talk to her all night to keep her awake because she feared dying in her sleep.

Take this matter of inconsiderateness, of downright selfishness. No other women workers have the slave hours we domestics have. We usually work from twelve to fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, except for our pitiful little "Thursday afternoon off." The workday itself is often nerve-racking. Try broiling a steak to a nice turn in the kitchen while a squalling baby in the next room, in need of a dry diaper, tries to protect himself from his brother, aged two, who insists on experimenting on the baby's nose with a hammer. See how your legs can ache after being on them from 7:00 a.m. until 9:00 p.m., when you are finishing that last mountain of dishes in the pantry! Know how little you care for that swell dinner you cooked when it comes to you, cold, from the table at 8:00 p.m.

Our wages are pitifully small. I doubt if wages for domestics average higher anywhere than in New York City; and here $45 a month is good for a "refined woman, good cook, and fond of children." I often wonder just what they mean by "refined." I remember one woman to whom I applied saying: "Say—Wadda ya mean? Usin' better English 'an I do askin' me fer a job! Git out!"

Then there was the old lady in "reduced circumstances" whose sick husband tried to earn a living as a door-to-door drug salesman. I'm sure she could not afford a maid, even a part time one at $6 a week. She was unhappy, had little to do, and took it out by standing over me at each little task.

One day I was glad to see she had borrowed a book from a lending library. I thought that now, engrossed in her book, she would leave me alone. Unwisely I said: "I see you are reading —— ——. I read it last year and enjoyed it." Mrs. S—— looked at me forbiddingly and merely grunted. Later she followed me to the kitchen and whispered: "Naomi, do you read?" I looked at her bewildered. "Read? Why, of course I read!" Then the point of the question dawned on me. I had to laugh. "You mean, Mrs. S——, do I read instead of getting on with my work when you are out? No, I don't do that."

Then there was the grandma in the household of Southern folk, a fat old lady who would call me away from anything I was doing to help her dress. "Naomi, please fasten my garters—I can't reach," or "Tie my shoes—I hate leaning over!" After I had been in that household a week I found the three-year-old calling me "Naomi Noble" instead of my own name. Grandma explained: "Down South we always call our niggers by our own last name, so here we'll call you 'Naomi Noble.'"

These women are so contradictory. They want someone "good with children"; yet when we turn out to be really good—that is, interested, kindly, and intelligent in our handling of their spoiled offspring—they are likely as not to resent the fact that we have succeeded where they failed. They hate the feeling that a "low" domestic worker can do anything better than they.

Aime

It is not only the long hours, the small pay, and the lack of privacy—we often have to share a room with the children—that we maids find hardest to bear. It is being treated most of the time as though we are completely lacking in human dignity and self-respect. During my first year at this work I was continually hopeful. But now I know that when I enter that service elevator I should park my self-respect along with the garbage that clutters it. Self-respect is a luxury I cannot retain and still hold my job. My last one was a good example of this.

As such jobs go, it was a good one. It was "part time." That is, I worked as cook nine instead of the customary twelve to fourteen hours per day. My Sundays were free. My wage was $40 per month, and I "slept out." After my last ride down with the garbage I could hurry home to the furnished room I shared with my schoolgirl daughter. My employer, Mrs. B——, was the wife of a fashionable doctor. And another person worked with me as a chambermaid. She was a little French girl, new in America, and just learning our language. We two got along splendidly.

Mrs. B——'s apartment was huge. But Lucille and I together kept it immaculate. However, no matter how much we scoured and dusted on hands and knees Mrs. B—— could always find imaginary dust. "Now Naomi," or "Lucille—you know you're lying when you say you cleaned under that settee!" Mrs. B—— was a hypochondriac who drank too much. One day she would be maudlin, the next vindictive. "Now you know I'm no slavedriver and you know there's little work to do around here—why can't you do it *well* instead of just trying to get by?" Or, "What's happened to all that butter I got yesterday?" The idea being that I had stolen some of it. And I would answer respectfully, minutely accounting for the disposal of the butter. We domestics, whatever our background, are supposed to be natural born thieves. "Lucille! You took my box of candy!"

"No, madame!" with a flash of peasant temper, banging open several bureau drawers, "here is your candy where you yourself put it, madame!"

No apology. Why apologize. We needed our jobs, didn't we?

Mrs. B—— was forever giving me orders as to just how many minutes to cook a certain dish—corned beef, for instance! Of course the only way to get around this was to listen respectfully, say: "Yes, Mrs. B——," and then go ahead and cook it as it should be cooked. I had learned early that Mrs. B—— would tolerate no discussion on such matters. That was "talking back" or "impudence." She was always talking about a legendary Negro cook she had once had for six, eight, or ten years (the time varied according to the low or high

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of the whisky bottle) who in all that time had never "answered back."

"Mrs. B—— is the one beeg liar," Lucille would whisper at such times. Lucille, by the way, in learning English, had also acquired some fine cusswords. She enjoyed muttering, when Mrs. B—— had been especially trying: "Son o' de beech! Son o' de beech!"

Healthy Lucille came down with a heavy cold, and finally, after trying to conceal her misery had to go to bed for three days. Mrs. B—— berated her soundly for not having told her. The truth was Lucille knew that when I had been sick for two days my pay had been docked, and she feared the same thing happening to her. While she was ill I did her work as well as my own; but there was no extra pay in my envelope at the end of the month.

When Mrs. B—— had hired me my hours were to be from noon until after dinner. Dinner was to be at seven. But soon dinner was set ahead to seven-thirty and then to eight. Which meant that I did not get through till nine or ten. Mrs. B—— would say: "Now, Naomi, don't rush yourself to have dinner just on the dot—it doesn't matter to us whether it's at eight or eight-thirty. We like to sit around and sip our cocktails."

We dared not say: "But it matters a lot to us whether we finish at eight or ten!"

Lucille and I both met our Waterloo in the following fashion. I had cooked a huge dinner for many guests—we always had company besides the ordinary family of five—and it was 9:00 p.m. before we two sat down to our meal, both too tired to eat.

Suddenly the bell rang furiously and Lucille came back, flushed with anger. "She say to put the cake right on the ice!"

Soon the bell rang again. "Is that cake on the ice?" called out Mrs. B——.

I sang out: "We've just started our dinner, Mrs. B——."

Later I said to Lucille: "Does she think we're horses or dogs that we can eat in five minutes—either a coltie or a Kiltie?" (Kiltie was the dog.) Lucille, who loved such infantile jokes, broke into peals of laughter.

In a second Mrs. B—— was at our side, very angry. She had been eavesdropping in the pantry. "I heard every word you said!"

"Well, Mrs. B——, we're *not* horses or dogs, and we *have* been eating only five minutes!"

"You've been a disturbing influence in this house ever since you've been here!" Mrs. B—— thundered. "Before you came Lucille thought I was a wonderful woman to work for—and tonight you may take your wages and go. Tomorrow, Lucille, your aunt is to come, and we shall see whether you go too!"

I wanted to tell her what I thought of her, but for Lucille's sake I kept quiet. At last at the door I offered my hand to Lucille, saying: "Here is my address."

"I am not interested!" she cried dramatically, throwing the paper to the floor.

I felt suddenly slapped. But from the pleading look in Lucille's eyes, I understood. Mrs. B—— was still in the pantry, and poor Lucille was thinking of her stern French aunt and that she would get no references after ten months' work.

They have us there! For a petty whim they can withhold that precious bit of paper without which it is hard for us to obtain another ticket to slavery. I knew, in my case, I would never get a reference from Mrs. B——. So I did not ask for one, but rode on down for the last time with the garbage.

Jobless, and with only $15 between us and starvation, I still felt a wild sense of joy. For just a few days I should be free and self-respecting!

NAOMI WARD.

The Writers Don't Want War

Three hundred explain why they don't want America again to "engage in foreign adventure."

A statement opposing American entry into the European war signed by three hundred writers has been made public by the League of American Writers, of which Donald Ogden Stewart is president. NEW MASSES is happy to publish this important document together with a partial list of the signers.

IN this hour of crisis, when the American people are threatened by the disaster of being plunged into a second world war, the League of American Writers calls upon all writers to join in the fight to preserve our peace and democracy.

We consider that peace and democracy are the deepest aspirations of the American people, that if we lose our peace by entering this war abroad we will lose our democracy as well.

We point out that the greatest danger to our peace at this time lies in the possibility that the profound anti-fascist sentiments of the American people will be misused to lead them into war.

We yield to no one in our unalterable hatred and opposition to fascism. We have helped create the genuine anti-fascist spirit of the American people. We maintain, however, that this war in Europe is not one in which the American people should take part for their own good or for the good of Europe's peoples; on the contrary, we maintain that our participation will result only in the prolongation of the war, in the abolition of our own liberties, in the substitution of a tyrannical M-Day control for the rights we cherish, in death lists and purposeless social misery, in cataclysmic depression.

We urge all Americans to combine their strengths, to unite in boldest opposition to the hysteria of the moment, to combat all steps which we know from experience lead directly to war.

In regard to the defense of America, we take our position in the front line of the defenders of our American peace, our American democracy, our American civil liberties, and we will defend these against foreign invaders as we defend them against enemies at home. A defense of seacoasts and towns is incomplete if it does not also defend these American treasures. We insist, therefore, that the military defense program not be made an excuse for attack on social legislation or on the liberties of the people, for if that is done the defense program will be a concealed invasion of precisely the fascist type it proposes to guard us against; and therefore we deplore the use of a defense program to arouse hysteria under the cover of which attacks have already been made upon the Walsh-Healey act, upon the trade unions and our civil liberties.

It has been said that writers have in their custody the conscience of the world. They do so whenever, with unequivocating courage, they oppose evil. We cry out that our participation in this war could be such an evil. We call upon all writers to act with maximum effort and courage to the end that America shall not again engage in foreign adventure.

(Signed) George Ade, George Albee, Nelson Algren, Katharine Anthony, Benjamin Appel, Harriette Ashbrook, Sanora Babb, Jenny Ballou, Marc Blitzstein, Anita Block, Arna Bontemps, Stirling Bowen, Millen Brand, Dorothy Brewster, Bob Brown, Harriet F. Bunn, Vera Caspary, Harold Clurman, Robert M. Coates, Stanton A. Coblentz, Paul Corey, Harold Coy, Countee Cullen.

H. W. L. Dana, Horace B. Davis, Miriam Allen DeFord, Peter De Vries, Pietro Di Donato, Martha Dodd, William E. Dodd Jr., Muriel Draper, Theodore Dreiser, Robert W. Dunn, Walter Pritchard Eaton, Guy Endore, *Henry Pratt Fairchild, Arthur Huff Fauset, Kenneth Fearing, Harvey Fergusson, Arthur Davison Ficke, Sara Bard Field, Charles J. Finger, Wanda Gag, Laurence Gellert, Marguerite Tjader Harris, Parks Hitchcock, Eugene C. Holmes, Josephine W. Johnson, Alexander Kaun, Grace Kellogg, Rockwell Kent, Jerome Klein, Arthur Kober.

Alfred Kreymborg, David Lamson, John Howard Lawson, Ruth Lechlitner, Meridel LeSueur, Corliss Lamont, Mary Lapsley, Willard Maas, Albert Maltz, George Marshall, V. J. McGill, Robert M. MacGregor, John T. McIntyre, Ruth McKenney, Loren Miller, Leonard Mins, Eugene O'Brien, Harvey O'Connor, Shaemas O'Sheel, Elizabeth Page, Rebecca Pitts, Alan Porter, D. W. Prall, John Hyde Preston, Phelps Putnam, Samuel Putnam, Charles Recht, W. L. River, Holland D. Roberts, Anna Rochester, Wellington Roe, Ralph Roeder, William Rollins Jr., Harold J. Rome, Norman Rosten, Henry Roth, Muriel Rukeyser, Isidor Schneider.

George Seldes, Irwin Shaw, Viola Brothers Shore, Ernest J. Simmons, Tess Slesinger, Frank Smith, Wessel Smitter, Isobel Walker Soule, Sigmund Spaeth, Arthur Steig, Jessica Smith, Philip Stevenson, Donald Ogden Stewart, Paul Strand, Deems Taylor, Jim Tully, Jean Starr Untermeyer, Joseph Vogel, Keene Wallis, J. Raymond Walsh, Eda Lou Walton, Harold Ward, Alice Holdship Ware, Clara Weatherwax, Paul Weiss, William Carlos Williams, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Richard Wright, Victor A. Yakhontoff, Art Young, Dalton Trumbo.

* Endorsed the statement, but with minor reservations.

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(Continued from page 5)

Large scale militarization and aggressive imperialism entail, of course, the subjugation of the American people, particularly the labor movement. Whether or not the United States enters the present European war, the rulers of America are determined to clean out what they consider the debris of democracy—the economic and social gains of the people and the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. Armaments and war economy are to be the supreme law; everything else is to be consigned to the flames. Wrote Walter Lippmann in the June 11 New York *Herald Tribune*:

> It will be said by some that these measures call for the suspension of many of the liberties we prize and that they are not in accord with the American way of life as our generation has lived it. That is true. The national defense in a world of totalitarian dictatorships does require the suspension of many liberties and of many privileges. How could it be otherwise?

The American people heartily favor genuine defense of their country. Such defense may require the suspension of the predatory liberties and special privileges of the fifth-columnists of Wall Street, but the experience of democratic Spain and China has shown that national defense under a truly progressive government goes hand in hand with the *expansion* of the rights of the majority of the people. What Lippmann and those in high places envisage is not a program of national defense, but of *offense* against the people's liberties and livelihood in preparation for offense against other nations. President Roosevelt's assurances in his Charlottesville speech that he does not intend to abandon efforts to make democracy work and to improve economic and social conditions are belied by the actual measures he is adopting. The use of the anti-trust laws against trade unions does not help make democracy work or improve the lot of the common man. Neither do the administration's anti-alien proposals and the harassing of Communists.

"How could it be otherwise?" our Dr. Pangloss asks. In that question is revealed the barrenness and bankruptcy and destructiveness of the capitalist order. To tell the people that they must give up even that little which they have, prepare to give up life itself in senseless warfare, and that it cannot be otherwise, is to deceive cruelly and criminally. The United States is today helping Japan murder China just as she helped Hitler and Mussolini murder Spain—can't this be otherwise? Our government has fanned the flames of war in Europe and Asia and spurned the hand of friendship of the greatest force for peace in the world, the Soviet Union—can't this be otherwise? Two-thirds of all American families, according to a recent government survey, lived in 1935-36 on an average of $69 a month—can't this be otherwise?

The Communist Party at its recent national convention outlined a platform of real national defense—peace for America, homes for America, decent wages and hours, adequate aid to the unemployed, the farmers, the aged, the youth. If capitalism rejects this program and says that it cannot be otherwise, who is to blame if the American people one fine day take it into their heads to reject capitalism? For one country—the land of socialism—has shown that there is another way. The tragic experiences of Europe and America in recent months cry out against the vicious circle of totalitarian war and totalitarian preparation for war. That circle can be broken. The people, the men and women of the factories and the fields, of the schools and offices, if they have the will, can make it otherwise.

Turning on the Heat

CAPITOL HILL is isolated and air-conditioned, but when the people back home turn on the heat hard enough, congressmen feel it. Washington dispatches report an incipient Senate revolt against Roosevelt's foreign policy. Senator Wheeler threatens to bolt the Democratic Party. Other Democratic senators—Walsh, Tydings, Holt, Chavez, Clark of Missouri—are discovering that it isn't safe to buck their constituents' demand for peace. Republican Senator Nye, who chairmanned the famous and not forgotten investigation of the munitions industry, told the Sales Executive Club of New York that hatred, hysteria, and war economy, rather than pro-Americanism, were bringing us closer to war.

It seems possible, at this writing, that the "defense tax" bill won't be shot through the Senate as it was in the House. Some senators are determined to impose taxes on war and general excess profits. They oppose the Byrd provision slashing by 10 percent all appropriations that do not aid the army and navy. The bill, as reported by the Finance Committee, eliminates the proposed increases in tobacco taxes but more than makes up for it by higher taxes on amusement tickets and liquor.

As for relief, the Senate has passed a measure that differs little from the House's skimpy provisions, except for the $100,000,000 added for surplus crop disposal. The ban on WPA theater projects was lifted and the eighteen-month clause faintly modified. Nothing was done, however, to halt the present firing of WPA workers—66,518 in the first week of June. Lieutenant Colonel Somervell, WPA administrator, is proud of the fact that his agency is aiding the brass hats.

Civil Liberties

OBVIOUSLY not enough congressmen have felt the pressure yet. Consider the House vote, 330 to forty-seven, to deport CIO leader Harry Bridges. This war measure, aimed at organized labor, directly violates Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution. It is a bill of attainder, punishing an individual without judicial trial. Of course the measure is also part of the continuing anti-alien campaign, which has received a push from Attorney General Jackson. Mr. Jackson has announced that America will admit only those immigrants who can prove in advance their "benefit" to this country. Even those who pass the test will be fingerprinted.

All aliens will be fingerprinted and registered if Congress adopts legislation sponsored by Senator Connally of Texas and Representative Smith of Virginia. Connally's proposals, already passed by the Senate, would also deport certain categories of the foreign born and outlaw attempts to "interfere with the discipline of" the army, navy, and Coast Guard. It is a sample of the many "I spy" and "be silent" measures pending in both houses which aim to: encourage wiretapping by the FBI; make possible a ban on the activities of progressive organizations; bar the Communist Party from the ballot in state and national elections; prevent even "former Communists" from holding office in labor unions; deny WPA work to Communists; bar employment of all Communists and more than 10 percent of aliens in private industry; set up armed industrial squads under the army to protect armament plants (from strikers). It is noteworthy that the worst of these measures are authored by Dixie demagogues—which may help to explain why the House Judiciary Committee is still sitting on the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Credit for the wiretapping bill, however, goes to Representative Celler of New York—and Attorney General Jackson, who is supporting it.

Methods of War Madness

OUTSIDE of Washington, too, civil liberties are getting what FDR once might have called a stab in the back. The Pittsburgh *Press* (Scripps-Howard) has published the names of Pennsylvania citizens who signed a petition to put the Communist Party on the ballot. Many of the signers are not even Communists. And what if they were? To sign such a petition is their constitutional right. War madness, however, has methods of its own—as reports from all over the nation testify. Here are some samples for the past week:

West Virginia: Prosecution of citizens who signed the Communist Party ballot petition has begun (several registered Democrats are among the prosecuted). Oscar Wheeler, Communist candidate for governor, has been arrested without legal warrant. *California:* Federal Judge Roche has ruled that William Schneiderman's citizenship should be revoked because he was a Communist at the time he became a citizen. Three officers of the CIO

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State, County, and Municipal Workers have been sentenced to jail and fined for refusing to give their membership lists to the Yorty "little Dies" committee. The vigilante Associated Farmers Inc. has declared total war on "subversive groups." *New York:* Former Congressman O'Connor, Tammany hack, is heading a movement to bar the Communist Party from the ballot. Tom Dewey's office has secured a thirty-day jail sentence and $500 fine in the trumped-up libel suit brought by Mrs. Edith Liggett against Clarence Hathaway, *Daily Worker* editor. *Arizona:* A Communist Party member was arrested for collecting ballot petition signatures. In answer to protests, the county attorney of Santa Cruz, James B. Robins, wrote Morris Graham, CP state secretary, that members of the party were "not Americans in fact" and he believed that, "subject only to the laws of God, the use at this time of any methods or means necessary to rid our country of Communism is not only morally justified but demanded. . . ." Governor Jones of Arizona wrote Graham that "the Santa Cruz County attorney has fully expressed my sentiments."

Terrorism, ranging from blacklists to assaults and arrests, against Communists, religious minorities, and organized labor, is reported from many other states. And what are the men in the Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice doing about these things? You ask them.

Cap and Gun

THE President set a style in war mobilization from commencement platforms, at the University of Virginia. College students are being handed their diplomas with gruesome exhortations from their elders. Presidents Conant of Harvard and Dodds of Princeton have virtually pledged their universities' resources (including the graduates) to the army and navy. Men like Owen D. Young, Wendell L. Willkie, and Henry L. Stimson flatter and cajole the students as FDR did—toward war. The least soft-spoken so far has been Brooklyn College's President Gideonse, who says, "We are going to have to make the decision that General Goering made between 'guns and butter.'" Mr. Gideonse favors guns. It is good to report that at least one educator, Dr. William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania, believes that "democracies cannot afford" any retrenchment in learning and science.

The Scientists

ANOTHER gruesome sight is that of physicians halting their discussion of medical advance to attach themselves to the war machine. That is just what the reactionary House of Delegates of the American Medical Association did at its meeting last week. Its program calls for a Volunteer Medical Service Corps of more than 117,000 members of the AMA to cooperate with the army's Medical Corps. Delegates also voted for "unwavering support of the President of the United States in his stand on the need for national unity and organization in the emergency." FDR did not wait for such voluntary mobilization of other scientists. He has already announced his own plans, in the words of the New York *Times,* to "mobilize American scientific genius in the interest of national defense." We suggest to the President that he read the resolution passed by the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians. It calls upon the government to "revert to a policy of strict neutrality" and to uphold all social measures.

Creel's Understudy

AS A mobilizing agency, of course, William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies takes the prize. Its unneutral and inflammatory full-page ads are punctuated with the jingo shibboleths of 1917. Small wonder the President approves Mr. White's propaganda. The sage of Emporia is understudying George Creel's role in the last war. His committee is a reminder and portent. Senator Holt of West Virginia will have performed one of the first public services in his career if he makes good his promise to expose the forces which really instigated Mr. White's "patriotic" endeavors.

By the Thousands

HOW do the people protest? Through mass meetings, parades, resolutions, petitions to Congress. We've reported in these columns from time to time the nationwide demonstrations by labor and civic groups. New instances occur every day. The 165,000 members of the International Workers Order, through 1,250 delegates assembled in convention, condemned the war on workers—here and abroad—and made plans to defend America by defending living standards, labor legislation, the Bill of Rights. Similar intentions were voiced by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, at its sixth annual convention. Out of Chicago comes news of a "Roll Call of American Women" against war. So swiftly is the group growing that a nationwide membership of one million is expected within the next two months.

Chicago will be the scene of a vast Emergency Peace Mobilization this August 3 and 4—the anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. The American Youth Congress initiated the mobilization, but it is drawing in adults, representatives of church, labor, and all progressive groups. Here is youth's answer to FDR's persuasive twaddle at Charlottesville, Va.

The USSR Takes Action

IN A Europe prey to panic and victim of a bloody contest between rival bandits, the Soviet Union pursues its independent way. Last week the government of the USSR charged that Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were systematically violating the mutual assistance pacts they had signed with the Soviet Union. It seems that the Lithuanian police, for instance, have been making mass arrests of their own citizens who happen to be building barracks, doing laundry, supplying food, or otherwise working for the Red Army troops in the country. Two Soviet soldiers were kidnaped, but escaped from their captors. They were able to show that Lithuanian police were responsible. All this was patiently related to the Baltic statesmen and a demand was made upon Lithuanian authorities for the return of a kidnaped officer. Instead of complying, his captors murdered him.

In such an atmosphere there was no hope for loyal execution of the mutual assistance pacts. As a matter of fact there was no effort at compliance on the part of any of the Baltic governments. Latvia and Estonia were partners in an anti-Soviet military alliance before the pacts were signed and they did not give up the alliance. On the contrary, they extended it to include Lithuania, who willingly became a partner to the conspiracy. Secret conferences were held by representatives of the partners in December 1939 and March 1940. Army staffs tightened contacts, and an attempt was made to draw Finland into the scheme.

All these facts were established in conferences with leading Baltic authorities before the Soviet Union came to a decision. The decision was to the point: the original pacts must be carried out faithfully. To this end the Soviet government demanded that governments be established which could and would do the job. Two Lithuanian officials responsible for the violence against Red Army men were to be tried by Lithuanian courts. Finally, sufficient Soviet troops to carry out the pact were to be allowed free entry to the Baltic lands.

The way is now cleared for fortification of Lithuania's border with Germany. The Lithuanian border links up with the German-Soviet border in former Poland. In this connection it is to be noted that the USSR and Germany have just announced the creation of a border-disputes commission to dispose of any problems of that kind that may arise between the two countries. Thus the USSR demonstrates its determination to maintain its repeatedly stated objectives: (1) absolute security for the Soviet Union; (2) non-involvement in the imperialist war. In this case the Baltic peoples benefit equally with the Soviet peoples in the fruits of the pacts.

Pacific Plunder

BRITISH and Japanese authorities "settled" the question of Chinese government silver at Tientsin this week. The British turned over to the Japanese the silver belonging to the Chinese government. The United States, too, inflicted a blow on the Chinese people. By refusing to support the Chinese dollar, the American government virtually knocked the bottom out from under it. Chinese independence doesn't mean a thing to the Roosevelt administration, but China profits do. American imperialism doesn't want to surrender profits to Japan. It was the interests of big business and not of simple humanity that inspired the State Department to protest the

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MIKE QUIN'S

Dangerous Thoughts

The author of "The Yanks Are NOT Coming," coiner of America's slogan of the times, scores again!

THEODORE DREISER says of this book:

". . . it has not only genuine art value, but truly startling and illuminating intellectual force—the type of concentrated essence of social logic and philosophy and irony to be found only in Peter Finley Dunne (Philosophy Dooley) and George Ade (Fables in Slang). In spots I am reminded of Rabelais, Voltaire and Thomas Paine. . . .

"It should be laid before the eyes of the entire world and I hope it will be. Personally I will do all I can to increase the number of its readers. . . ."

RUTH McKENNEY:

". . . I've been toying with the idea that Mike Quin is sort of combination Mark Twain and Voltaire, 1940 model, but that doesn't seem to really nail it down. Maybe Mark Twain plus a sound knowledge of economics; Voltaire added up with a human heart. . . ."

CLIFFORD ODETS:

"Quin has a rare talent for revealing complex truths in a few simple paragraphs. . . . More than one writer I know will say of many of his pieces, 'I wish I had written that!' "

And what's more, this collection of poems, humorous sketches, topical essays and jingles is supreme reading entertainment.

You can get "Dangerous Thoughts" by writing directly to The People's World, 583 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif., and enclosing 50 cents in coin or stamps.

Chungking bombings. The Chinese capital, one of the most densely populated cities in the world, has been getting perhaps the most sustained and brutal bombing any metropolis in the world has yet endured. But the State Department said nothing about the fact that these bombings are made possible by the war materials which the United States is shipping to Japan.

From the business point of view a proper step has been taken in the appointment of Christian E. Gauss as American minister to Australia. Gauss was consul general and embassy counselor in Shanghai at the time of the Japanese invasion and later. The idea seems to be that the United States and Australia should work together against Japan without in any way helping the Chinese people to free themselves. Meanwhile, in this gentlemanly game the Japanese have made a little progress themselves. Coincident with the Tientsin "settlement," they further entrenched themselves in Siam, regarded as a British sphere. At the same time they warned the French that Indo-China was annoying them by permitting the passage of arms to China's legitimate government. The Dutch East Indies got some attention, too. A rumor was circulated that Allied troops had been landed there and the Japanese government displayed prepared anxiety about the matter. Thus from North China to the South Pacific, the Japanese imperialists advance at the expense of their rivals but with the complicity of Great Britain. Britain here pursues the forlorn shadow of the appeasement policy, but the more widely Japan extends her program of expansion, the more surely she will bog down in the vast spaces of China.

Non-Intervention?

TRADING on the Nazi victories and the desperation of the Allies, Franco has just achieved the bloodless occupation of the Tangier international zone. To save their faces, Allied spokesmen pretend to have authorized the act which was performed in the name of the sultan of (Spanish) Morocco. In effect this is the first belligerent act on the part of Spain but the position of France and England is so bad that they cannot afford resistance. The formal position of the Spanish government changed from "neutrality" to "non-belligerency" upon Italy's entrance into the war. Spanish demands for French North Africa are now voiced. Franco probably resents his position of utter dependence upon the Axis powers. That may be the explanation of a Spanish fascist demand for Tunisia —conflicting with the Italian claim—heard for the first time in a demonstration this week. Italy's plans for Spain, on the other hand, allow no room for "independent" gestures by Franco. Spain's ex-King Alfonso is held in reserve, if Franco puts on airs. On the day Mussolini declared war, Maria Christina, youngest daughter of Alfonso, was married to Italian Count Enrico Marone of Cinzano Vermouth.

Indian Uprising

CLEVELAND'S Indians are neither Hopi braves nor Cherokee businessmen, but baseball players. To the amazement of the diamond tories who control their athletic hirelings by a unilateral contract which permits fining, firing, and blacklisting without appeal, stars of the club met, discussed their grievances, and presented an ultimatum to President Alva Bradley. They demanded the dismissal of Manager Ossie Vitt, charging that they could not play winning ball because of Vitt's dictatorial manner on field, his caustic ridicule of their efforts.

Solidarity brought results. Bradley was unable to discipline such stars as Bob Feller, Hal Trosky, Ken Keltner, and Rollie Hemsley. He brought players and manager together, held a long powwow, and induced Vitt to issue a statement that he would thenceforth conduct himself as a gentleman on the ball field. The players, satisfied that they had accomplished their aim of curbing Vitt's arrogance, thereupon withdrew their demands. Thus for the first time in the history of our national sport collective bargaining brought results. Curiously enough no one has yet hinted that "fifth-columnists" were at the bottom of the uprising.

Marcus Garvey

MARCUS GARVEY died last week. Garvey came into prominence in 1919, when the Negro people were receiving the bitter reward for their participation in the war. Soldiers in uniform were being lynched; homes were burned; anti-Negro sentiment swept the country. Against this background Garvey was able to sell thousands of indignant Negroes the utopian scheme of an African republic. "Back to Africa!" he cried. It was the nationalist and "color" character of the Negro struggle that made the Garvey movement possible; it held all white men responsible for the capitalist-inspired anti-Negro terror. Actually Garvey directed his followers away from the realistic, political struggle at home. His middle class nationalist program focused Negro hopes upon imperialist-controlled Africa. The United States, where Negroes were guaranteed some basis for their struggle by the Constitution, was surrendered. But while Garvey played their game, the temper of the Negro people, revealed by the growth of the Garvey movement, alarmed the capitalists. Garvey was investigated, convicted of using the mails to defraud, and deported to Jamaica.

Marcus Garvey would have little success during this period. He would have to combat the realism of such organizations as the National Negro Congress. Today even A. Philip Randolph, whose rise as a left wing leader heralded the post-war period, is repudiated when he proposes a defeatist program similar to Garvey's. No wonder the New York *Times* the other day commented with nostalgia on Garvey's less "vicious" leadership.

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Poverty in the Countryside

Lem Harris reviews Anna Rochester's important book "Why Farmers Are Poor." The machinery that holds millions of farmers in want. The economics behind the Joads.

WHY FARMERS ARE POOR, THE AGRICULTURAL CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES, *by Anna Rochester. International Publishers. $2.25.*

DURING the opening years of the first imperialist world war Lenin lived in Switzerland, but was able even from that neutral island to continue to guide the world revolutionary movement. One of the studies of great significance which he carried out at that time was a careful investigation of the development of capitalism in American agriculture. Using the United States Census of 1900 and 1910, he wrote a book (included in Vol. XII, *Selected Works of Lenin,* International Publishers) which swept aside past theories that American family-sized farms were the firm base of American rural life, and showed instead how rapidly the expropriation of small farming was proceeding. The concluding sentence of Lenin's book summarizes his findings:

> Taken as a whole, a comparison of similar data on industry and agriculture for the same period shows that, notwithstanding the extreme backwardness of the latter, there is a remarkable similarity in the laws of their evolution; small production is being eliminated in both.

While the tremendous battles of the last war were being fought, Lenin evidently concluded that one of the important tasks of the moment was to make clear how the great mass of the farmers were being driven down to a subsistence level of living by the remorseless pressure of monopoly capital in its imperialist stage.

Basing her approach on the method and findings of Lenin's book, Anna Rochester, one of America's most competent Marxist scholars, has completed a study of how the ruin of the American farmer in all sections of the country has progressed to the present day. Four years of painstaking study went into the preparation of this book, and yet it has the dramatic qualities one expects in a novel. In contrast to another great book *The Grapes of Wrath,* which shows the desperate plight of one dispossessed farm family, *Why Farmers Are Poor* describes the machinery whereby millions of Joads are kept in deepest poverty, and finally are driven from their land. You learn exactly how the capitalist process robs farmers of the great portion of the value created by their labor. This is the first book to give the plain facts behind the poverty of the countryside. If you wish to understand the basic problems of the rural half of America, this book is indispensable.

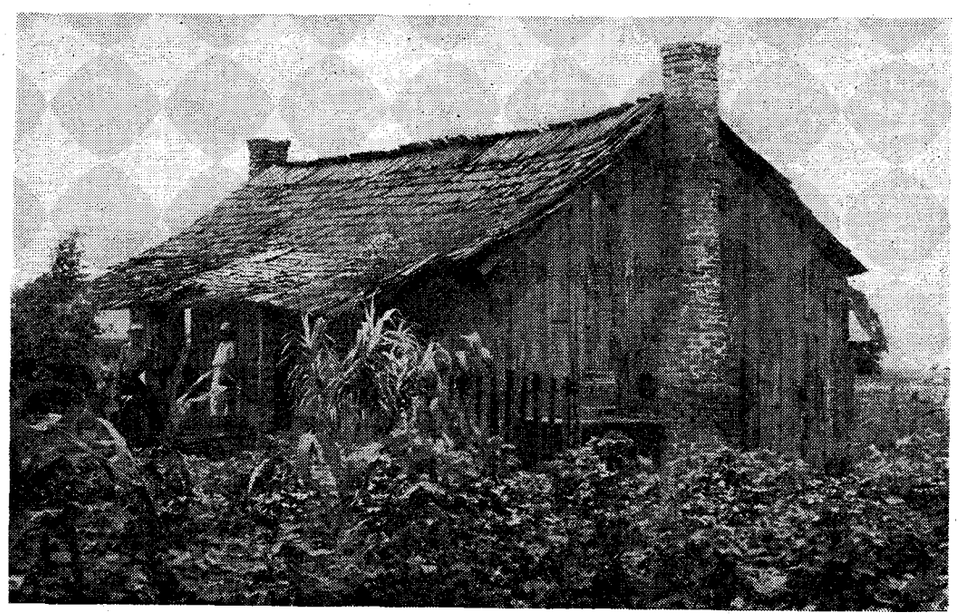
How badly off are the American farmers and farm workers today? This study of scores of government and private sources of information reveals that half of America's farmers subsist on a gross farm income of less than $1,000 a year, out of which sum the farmer must pay all his family's living and recreational expenses, operate the farm, repair the equipment, and meet the interest and principal payments on his debts. Sharecroppers, who commonly pay one-half their cash income to the landlord are in the worst position, often having less than $100 to spend for a whole year's work. In rough figures, the poorest half of the farm population produced only 10 percent of the commercial crop. On the other hand the richest 10 percent of the farmers produce over 40 percent of the crop commercially marketed.

Here is how Miss Rochester summarizes the situation:

> The three million small farmers and their families are the victims of the capitalist process. Farm destitution, like the destitution of unemployed masses in industrial centers, is related to the increasing productivity of labor and the narrowing markets which are universally characteristic of capitalism in its present stage of general crisis. For capitalism —both on farms and in industry—is geared for abundance in production with a smaller working population. At the same time it allows no proportional increase in the purchasing power of those who actually do the producing. And it is unable to restore to the productive process masses who are unemployed. Three and perhaps four million small farmers are added to at least ten million unemployed workers who exist through work projects, relief, or help from employed relatives.

The elaborate machinery which lies behind the phrase "capitalist process" is fully revealed. The appearance of mechanization and power farming, the increased use of low-paid hired labor, higher production due to improved technique, high rents to those who own the limited amount of fertile land, and the rise of giant monopolies which dominate the marketing channels—these are some of the factors in the capitalist process. And each one of these factors is elaborated in this splendid book.

Most easily observed is the rapid development of power farming in the past twenty-five years. The opening of the first imperialist world war found less than fifty thousand tractors on American farms, but today there are over 1,500,000. A wheat farmer with a truck, combine, and tractor, with the help of two hired men for two weeks during harvest, can handle all the work on a thousand acres of wheat. But few of the wheat growers of the Great Plains handle as much as a thousand acres. Only a few large scale producers have sufficient land and capital to make full use of the great economies and efficiencies which



THIS PICTURE *of a sharecropper's shack in Marion Junction, Ala., is one of the illustrations in Anna Rochester's new book, "Why Farmers Are Poor." Said this sharecropper: "No place to plant me a little garden when the white-boss says to plow the cotton in right up to my front door."*

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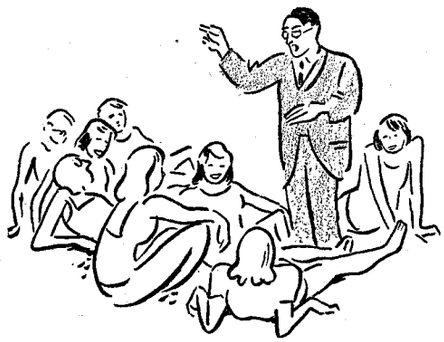

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power farming methods permit. In fact agricultural authorities have concluded that notwithstanding the development of relatively small tractors and special equipment to go with them, "farms from four to possibly ten times the size of the family operating units to which we have been accustomed would make the best fit with the requirements of the new technique."

GROUND RENT

Another aspect of the capitalist process is the system of ground rent, "one of the oldest forms under which some members of the human race have exploited others." The capitalist device of rent is made possible by the limited amount of land. Especially high rentals can be charged for more desirably located and more fertile land. Marx's categories of absolute rent, due to the limited amount of land, and differential rent, due to the peculiar advantages of a certain piece of land, are shown to apply to the conditions of today. It is absolute rent that hinders farming from showing a higher rate of profit than that shown by industrial capital. The relatively low organic composition of farm capital (that is, the relatively heavy application of human labor power) does create a relatively higher rate of profit, but absolute rent effectively drains off a large share of the value which the farmers' labor creates.

But such is the degree of impoverishment of masses of farmers that they cannot be said to pay any true economic rent. They are not receiving a cash income higher than possible wages of a worker, they are not earning a surplus above family needs. "His rental payment is exacted as sheer exploitation by the monopoly power of ownership." He is driven either to deny his family the necessities of life or else live beyond his income and thus slide into certain bankruptcy.

In the case of large farms, capitalist units dependent wholly upon wage labor pass on to the wage workers the burden of the cost of the land. "By holding farm wage rates below the rates for industrial labor, the farm employer takes for himself not only the 'normal' surplus value produced by the wage workers but part of the value required for the workers' own maintenance." This brief excursion into some of the intricacies of the capitalist process in agriculture is but a little sample of the wealth of material contained in the book.

Illustrating the text are numerous tables constructed from government and other authoritative sources, but, unlike the tables in most other publications, these are designed to reveal the true seriousness of the situation. And though a series of appendixes give a number of basic tables and statistical data, the most revealing exhibits are in the body of the book.

PROCESSORS' MONOPOLY

As an example, a simple table on page 33 tells the story of how giant monopolies control the processing of farm products and thus the destiny of millions of farmers. Thirteen milling companies control 65 percent of the nation's output of flour and manipulate the product of 1,360,000 grain farms. Three meatpackers handle 41 percent of the nation's cattle and calves supplied by 550,000 farmers. Five tobacco companies control 57 percent of the crop from 420,000 farms. Does not such a table tell in the most eloquent manner the story of capitalist domination of American agriculture? Made up in a painstaking and meticulously honest manner, these tables constitute one of the great merits of the book.

The conclusions in this book are implicit in the light of its analysis. The bankruptcy of the mass of small farmers and, somewhat more slowly, of the middle-sized farmers stands as a terrible indictment of the capitalist process. For the country as for the city, capitalism means mass poverty. Yet the positive achievement of the capitalist process is recognized. We have learned how to produce. By scientific farm methods an ever expanding volume of farm products can be produced by fewer and fewer man-hours. The fears of Malthus have vanished.

The farmers' efforts to improve their conditions bring them in direct conflict with the capitalists. Their struggle for a price is in conflict with the processors; their fight for security of their homes brings them in conflict with the giant banks and insurance companies.

Farmers who can still make even a very poor living on the land have been less ready than wage workers to carry these questionings of the existing order to their logical conclusion. Farmers have in general maintained the form of independence; they expect to sell not their labor power but the products of their labor. Working farmers are the survivors of an earlier period. They have been long exploited and are now brought to the edge of destitution without the wage workers' obvious and complete separation from all means of production. But the uncertainty of capitalist markets, insecurity of the land, and the lack of opportunity in other occupations have raised basic questions.

And not the least basic question, Miss Rochester concludes, is that of the growing cooperation between the two great exploited groups, farmers and wage workers.

LEM HARRIS.

First Novel

THE HEART IS A LONELY HUNTER, *by Carson McCullers. Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.50.*

THIS unusually sensitive first novel portrays the restless and lonely questioning of four people in a stagnant Southern mill town.

Jake Blount is full of the sense of the misery that he finds in modern life, yet to others he is ranting and grotesque, drunk and ineffectual. Mick Kelly, an adolescent girl with a thwarted talent for music, is evoked with great tenderness. Dr. Copeland, the Negro physician, burns with a bitter ideal of pride and strength which he is unable to bring to any of his people. Lastly, there is Biff Brannon, hard and quiet, without either illusions or strong passion.

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The presentation of these people is made rich by social understanding, although Carson McCullers never connects them so explicitly in the carefully written narrative. Most intensely felt, in this sense, are Jake and Dr. Copeland—Jake who talks endlessly of "those who know" (a handful) and those many who do not see the falsity of their oppressed lives; Dr. Copeland who exhorted and taught a rebellious dignity and whose own son suffers mutilation on a chain gang.

The characters *are* united, however, by a rather artificial device. The grave, alert face of the mute, John Singer, awakens in each a quickened outpouring of feeling. Here may be a symbolism. The people who turn to Singer are mute too—the meanness of life has placed a hand over their mouths; they suffer from the immeasurable loneliness of men without hope in their fellows. Emotionally this endows the mute with a remote, uncanny quality. In a literary sense, Singer is an unsatisfying nexus for these realistically described lives. Even minor characters such as Portia, Copeland's daughter, or Bubber, Mick's kid brother, are products of a studied sobriety. Singer himself, much simpler and more limited than they think him, is psychologically real for us. Yet as the central reference point of these skillfully developed individuals, he appears to be in peculiar contradiction to them. Through the episodes there runs the strange pattern of Singer's own private life—his love for an obese moron named Antonopoulous. As the others to him, so he to the Greek spells out the inner shape of his spirit. And Antonopoulous for him in turn has a quality rather inexplicable, almost occult. At the Greek's death in the state hospital for the insane, he shoots himself and the book is suddenly over. But the real outcome is movingly described when Mick realizes that she may never be a musician now that she has to go to work, when Dr. Copeland goes defeated and ill to the farm of his wife's relatives, and when Jake wanders off again, out through the cruel, hopeless poverty of the town's outskirts to some other place in the dark South.

It is a further source of weakness that the central characters are all in their ways extraordinary. They are set starkly against the serried millhands and Negroes of the town, who are depicted as hopeless and uninformed. There are no class-conscious workers, "and you just don't take off to New York and join." Pathetically, Jake and Dr. Copeland quarrel, the millhands laugh at the white man and the Negroes misunderstand the doctor. A strike they vaguely talked of never comes off because they could not get together and "in many eyes there was a look of somber loneliness."

If the area of sensibility were wider this would be a more satisfying novel, and its unity would be social rather than mystical and mechanical. Moreover, this is a pessimistic book; and the pessimism in this very suggestive first novel by a gifted young writer tends to isolate and contract the potentialities of theme and emotion.

MILLICENT LANG.

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M-Day Plans

MOBILIZING CIVILIAN AMERICA, *by Harold J. Tobin and Percy W. Bidwell. Council on Foreign Relations. $2.75.*

M-DAY is not a concept new to World War II. It has a history. A book which recounted that history would be invaluable. This book does not do so. It contains (Part I) a chronological sketch of the development of the formal plan for what is miscalled "industrial mobilization." The rest of the book devotes separate chapters to important activities embraced by the plan, such as "Propaganda and Censorship"; "Mobilization of the Armed Forces"; "Mobilization of Industrial Labor"; "Mobilization of Business"; "Control of Prices and Profits." These subjects could be interesting but the treatment is dishonest, evasive, and therefore dull.

The title of the book is misleading. A more accurate title would have been: *A Textbook on the (Written) "Industrial Mobilization Plan" As Evolved Since 1931 with Especial Attention to the Revision of 1939.* The book is published on the "basic assumption that the more the nation as a whole knows in advance about industrial mobilization, the more easily the necessary regime can be established at the proper moment." That makes it a sort of manual for those who will take part in imposing M-Day upon the American people.

By voluntarily limiting themselves to "subjects which have been treated in some detail" in the written "Plan" (an eighteen page pamphlet), the authors omit the substance of their real theme. For the pamphlet is no more the real scheme for all-round mobilization of the United States than the 1787 Draft Constitution is the whole system of American government. There is an *unwritten* plan. The authors acknowledge that this unwritten plan is the one that will take effect in the event of war. Under the administration of "patriotic business leaders of the nation," the plan will be modeled on the Baruch dictatorship and the scandalous dollar-a-year regime of 1918. Baruch himself, it will be recalled, was considered ideal for the job precisely because he was a non-producer even to the capitalist mind. That is, he made his millions playing the market and therefore wasn't close enough to any one business to disqualify him for placing government orders. All the rest of the dollar-a-year men, however, were there to get their snouts in the war order trough. Washington as a profiteers' hog-wallow, where capitalists make fortunes without "dishonesty or fraud" simply because they are "fortunately situated in a position honestly to take advantage of the huge new demand at rising prices"—that is the cornerstone of the industrial mobilization plan, but it doesn't appear in the written pamphlet and so this book omits it too.

Just why have the authors chosen to deal with the written and not the unwritten plan? M-Day plans have two objectives. One is to provide the technical plan for putting the nation's resources to war work. The other is

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devoted to overcoming or getting around the opposition of the American people. The printed War Department pamphlet deals with the technical stuff and hardly breathes a word about the unwilling people. *Mobilizing Civilian America* takes refuge in the organizational problems too.

One cannot escape the impression that ever since the last war ended, the American people have been greatly concerned with avoiding, if at all possible, entanglement in another European war. Their hopes and fears constitute the atmosphere in which the plans devised by the War Department and printed in its pamphlet must function; they too are part of the unwritten plan of industrial mobilization.

Yes indeed they are "part." And if the authors drew much attention to the large proportion of the M-Day plan devoted to thwarting the people's hopes and fooling their fears, they might defeat their own objective and make it *harder* to put M-Day across. So they just don't talk about it all. You can get around that by reading Mike Quin's pamphlet, *Ashcan the M-Plan.*

MARION GREENSPAN.

Legal Memoirs

THE BAR OF OTHER DAYS, *by Joseph S. Auerbach. Harper. $3.50.*

THIS collection of integrated reminiscences, short biographies, and anecdotes will appeal to some lawyers and few laymen. It deals with such oldtime practitioners as Joseph H. Choate, William M. Evarts, and De Lancey Nicoll. Mr. Auerbach relates courtroom witticisms of a flavor faded by time and print as well as some effective legal cross-examination. The reader soon realizes that few craftsmen live with their work so thoroughly as lawyers; the oldtimers seem, from this book, to have been particularly immune to any thought not affecting their work. This is, of course, only superficially true, as witness the imposing list of clients who pass through these memoirs. The complete lack of social consciousness demonstrated by the author is appalling. A demand for some connection with the reality that is life and not litigation seems not unreasonable.

L. B.

Charles Martin

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Lost: 65,000,000 Movie Fans

They don't want "escape" films or war propaganda. Will legs bring them back? Hollywood mourns the blackout of European markets.

SOME 125,000,000 Americans were attending the movies weekly in 1929; today the shocking fact is becoming accepted by the captainship of the industry that the figure has fallen to sixty million. The European market is in an almost complete eclipse, with the ironic exception of half a market in Germany and in a few "pacified" Nazi vassal states. The American film approaches normal trade relations in India and China. South America and Australia are still receiving a normal flow of product. Altogether 50 percent of the total overseas market has disappeared, which represents 20 percent of the total business of American films.

The contraction of the movie empire is answered by the producers by a wave of firings and wage cuts, talk about making fewer and better pictures, and schemes for setting a limit on production budgets. For instance, where an early Shirley Temple picture like *Curly Top* cost less than half a million to make and grossed over two and a half million, her later films were budgeted around a million and barely made the nut, owing to the loss of much of her phenomenal foreign market, the sharp decline in domestic audience purchasing power, and of course the fact peculiar to show business that Shirley was outgrowing her appeal and was placed in atrocious stories. Talk of limiting the cost of production is, of course, ridiculous in a business so heavily loaded with management and ballyhoo costs and periodically raided by financial hogs. Production costs will be limited only to the extent of job displacement in the lower brackets of film labor.

The utopian scheme, advocated by Samuel Goldwyn, of making 150 good pictures a year instead of five hundred hit-or-miss films would do nothing but abolish the double bill and about half the labor in the production, distribution, and exhibition branches of the movie monopoly. Goldwyn's plan is essentially that of crop limitation, or plowing under every second and third row of B pictures. The best refutation of Goldwyn's cure-all is his own record as an elite producer who makes only three films a year to the ten undertaken by, say, a producer on the Warner lot. Goldwyn has not proved himself an infallible manufacturer either in quality or financial success, although his standards, in the Hollywood sense, have been fastidious.

The European trader's war offers the capitalist class what seems like a way out, and the motion picture throws its projection beam ahead of any expeditionary force. There are two indications of the directions Hollywood is looking. One is the pro-war films. The other is South America. The Hollywood *Reporter*, a semi-official trade organ of the industry, is urging the producers to invade the nations below the Rio Grande. A survey undertaken by a trade delegation-without-portfolio reports that the South American market cannot be exploited successfully without building theaters. Hollywood has reached that monopolistic state where it cannot invade new markets without owning everything from theaters to studios. One can envision American marines safeguarding a site in Peru on which Twentieth Century–Fox is building an air-conditioned, supercolossal Bijou.

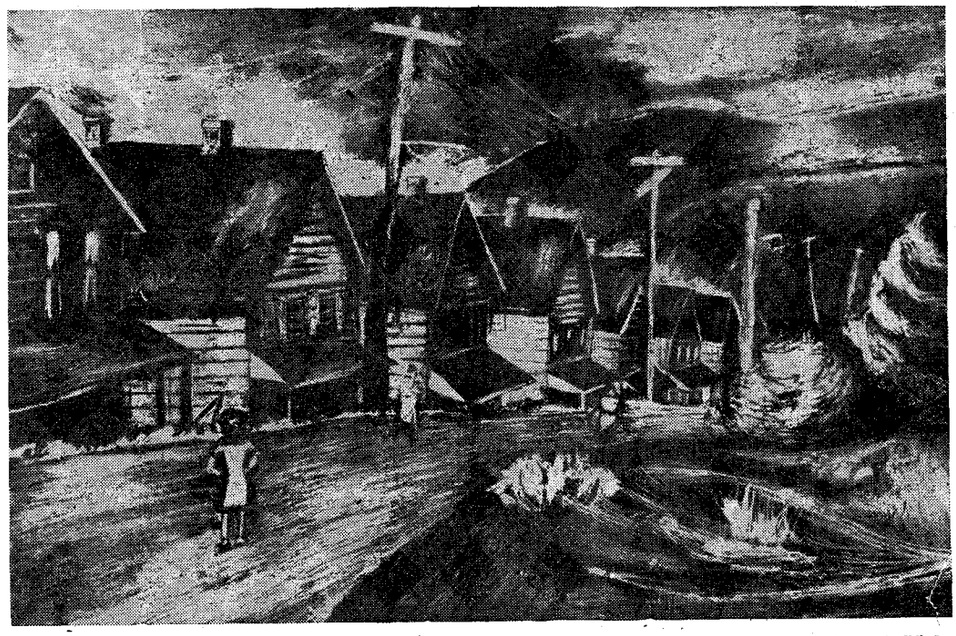
But the problem remains, what shall the films of this new era be like? There is already a slight panic over the fact that jingo films, are going to have to be forced on the audience through some kind of official compulsion involving flagwaving patriotism and perhaps a new Creel committee to put the spiritual lug on the audience.

Warner Bros. three weeks ago began the spiritual offensive when it ordered all its employees to a special meeting on the lot for an unannounced purpose. The meeting proved to be a preparedness harangue by Harry Warner, in which he bade his happy family ferret out fifth-columnists. Mr. Warner was distressed by the fact that some miscreant had placed in his own automobile a leaflet "attacking the government." Whether this was a Wendell Willkie manifesto or a dastardly plea for peace, the reports do not state.

The fact is that the American people do not want this war—on the screen or in the plots of Col. Julius Ochs Adler and Gen. Arthur Hays Sulzberger for general conscription of everything but the advertising revenues of the New York *Times*. For example, British propaganda films, very liberally distributed in the US, are proving to be resounding duds. *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* when it was first released was properly a success. That was in the days before September 1939. The new edition of this film, however, was a resounding flop when it played at the Globe Theater in New York. People were deeply suspicious that the reissue was a pro-Allied pro-war incitement.

The second theme for the movies of the new era is one that Hollywood considers unusually attractive, safe, and of proven financial soundness: sex. Each capitalist war is attended by grotesque outbreaks of sexual exhibitionism. In London a few months ago a fashionable club was padlocked because of its striptease contests among well born young women patrons. The best patrician peeler, in the opinion of the assembled officers on leave, was awarded a full length nude portrait of herself by a member of the Royal Academy. The English have at last found a use for the Royal Academy.

The vast armies of imperialist war demand a kind of sexual iconography best supplied by photographs of familiar movie queens. Already the demands from Allied and German soldiers for bigger and better cheesecake have obliged the Hays office to abandon its regulation of stills. In this hunger the soldiers are seconded by American newspaper editors who find increased space for more revealing leg art. For the people at home the opportunity



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for sexual titillation rises in proportion to the misery of the time.

One astute firm, Paramount, has announced it will make only escape pictures and musicals, which coincides with the desires of a large bloc of motion picture exhibitors. Cleveland exhibitors, for instance, report that the public wants only light comedy. *Boxoffice,* which often echoes the trend among exhibitors, reports the Cleveland theater owners as saying that this "is an antidote to the serious war condition. They say further that audiences do not even want to see newsreel shots of the war; they want to get as far away from the war as possible when they attend the theater."

The case for the exhibitor, in his enforced position of close proximity to the public, is put frankly in a passionate letter to *Variety* by Ken Woodward, manager of the Capitol Theater, Uniontown, Pa., which appeared as the lead article in the June 5 issue of *Variety.* Says Mr. Woodward:

> My point is that if the film business expects to survive *it must get some sex back on the screen!* [Mr. Woodward's italics.] Even in the old days the various censor boards kept clipping away but even in their fondest dreams they could not imagine a situation where fairy tales would furnish the screen fodder of the nation. How the devil is my theater going to exist when in the beer garden right across the street they can have a look at a stripteaser by buying a couple of glasses of beer?
>
> During the past few months I have been very happy to see my convictions borne out to an extent at least. I believe I noticed that one of the major studios had instructed its writers, directors, etc., to strain every last regulation of the Legion of Decency.

There is a deep, almost biological compatibility in sexual titillation and war, and the capitalist class has learned to use one for the other in the propaganda for war. The Hays office and the Legion of Decency are outliving their usefulness. Their function was mainly to prevent democratic propaganda in the film during the thirties. The sex taboos were an incidental disguise for the suppression at the source of subjects dealing with reality. Both censorship groups are strictly the creatures of the producer clique. Will Hays, the office boy of the Motion Picture Producers & Distributors of America, shunted away unwelcome inquiries into the evasions of the film. When the producers were challenged directly they answered that the office boy wouldn't let them make honest films. Now they may fire the office boy and his pious friend, Joseph Breen of the Legion of Decency.

The cinema art in the Soviet Union and, in brief periods of popular responsibility, in France, America, and Czechoslovakia achieved its proper function, the expression of truth and democracy. It guided and celebrated the people and belonged to them. This kind of cinema art marches forward today in the USSR alone. Elsewhere in the war-wracked world the film has the objective of debasing and deceiving the people with flagwaving and peepshow.

JAMES DUGAN.

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